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THE  
HISTORY

OF  
THE  
BARRON COUNTY

ABRIDGED BY

W. H. BARRON

AND

THE

BARON COUNTY

OF

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BARON COUNTY

OF

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BARON COUNTY

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BARON COUNTY

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BARON COUNTY

OF

THE



THE  
HISTORY  
*James* OF *Alexander*  
DION CASSIUS

Abridg'd by *Xiphilin.*

Containing

The most considerable Passages under  
the *Roman* Emperors, from the time  
of *Pompey* the Great, to the Reign of  
*Alexander Severus.*

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The Second Volume.

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Done from the Greek,

By Mr. MANNING.

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*Tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur  
Scriptorem, & Authorem rerum, tamen  
in primis arduum videtur res gestas  
scribere. Salust.*

---

London : Printed for A. and J. Churchill,  
in *Pater-noster-Row*, 1704.

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WILLIAM

Sir Richard's Temple  
Baron

Advised by the  
Education is necessary like  
Promotions to the  
common good. Considerable things are  
Anxious like the  
Anxious to the  
and hope to  
to obtain the  
volume

It has been  
that you have  
I have observed  
honourable  
Ment  
and a good  
of the  
of the  
of the

T O

*Sir Richard Temple,*  
Baronet.

**D**edications are sometimes like Promotions at Court, they come unforeseen and unexpected. Authors like those at the Helm of Affairs love to diversifie the Scene, and hope by making new Interests, to obtain a fresh stock of Credit.

Thus, Sir, 'tis for my own sake that you have this publick mark of my Respect. Self-Love, to speak honestly, is at the bottom of most Men's Designs. They may pretend a publick Spirit, and the Interest of the Nation, but how mani-

A z

fest

## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

fest is it, that they mean nothing but Honour and Advantage to themselves.

How few are there like your self, that dare sacrifice the Joys and Comforts of a flowing Hereditary Fortune and Dignity to the toils and fatigues of War, through the single glorious Motive of serving their Country !

There can be no private Interest in this, you want it not. 'Tis too apparent that the Enemies to the Tranquility of *England* are Numerous, that there are many endeavours to unhinge the Succession, as by Law establish'd, which is its only future Security, that there is a Set of Men among us who would compass their designs, though at the expence of overthrowing our Constitution out of a mistaken Revenge, and therefore it is, that you have



## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

have forsaken the softer delights of a private Life, that you might be able in a more publick Sphere to contribute to the confirmation of the present Welfare and Happiness of your Country.

This is an Example worthy of any of the *Roman* Spirits. Happy indeed were the Commonwealth, and not to be shaken by any foreign Power, if Men would so neglect their particular Interests, and study to maintain the general Good.

These things consider'd, how justifiable is my Ambition to aspire at such a Patronage! Nor can you, Sir, justly blame me for the liberty I have taken. Who can look upon a piece of *Vandyke*, without admiring all those Graces that are so peculiar to him, and that natural Disposition of all the Parts that shew so fair a resemblance of the best Life? How

## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

How much less then can one forbear to be transported with a living Pattern of all those Perfections which the other could but handsomly feign! Thus you must have been less conspicuous to have escap'd a Dedication. If you had not been distinguish'd by a thousand good Qualities, I had lost the honour I do myself by this Epistle.

But, Sir, my Zeal has made me forget that I am writing to yourself, I shall therefore conclude with begging your acceptance of this Second Volume of my Translation of *Xiphilin*, and the Honour to be continued in your favour.

*I am,*

*S I R,*

*Your most Humble Servant,*

FRANCIS MANNING.

THE

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THE  
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THE  
**REIGN**  
 OF THE  
 EMPEROR  
*G A L B A.*

---

V O L. II.

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**G** *ALBA* was proclaim'd in the manner I have said, which had been foretold him heretofore by *Tiberius*, when he assur'd him that he should one day tast of Empire. He had likewise other very clear Presages of his future Grandeur. He  
 B dreamt

dreamt one day that he saw Fortune, who told him, that she had waited long at his Gate, without being able to get in, and if she was made to attend longer, she should be oblig'd to retire some where else. Some Vessels laden with Arms came upon the Coasts of *Spain*, without a Pilot. A Mule having brought forth a young one, he was told 'twas a sign he should ascend the Throne. Some white Hairs having appear'd of a sudden on the Head of a Youth, who brought Incense to *Galba* when he was just going to Sacrifice, the Soothsayers judg'd that this extraordinary change implied, that the Sovereign Power should pass from a young Prince to *Galba*, who was then grown old.

He govern'd with great Moderation, and made himself odious to none. He thought, and declar'd very often, that he had not seiz'd upon the Empire, but that he had receiv'd it from the choice of others. Yet he had his Faults, for he was never weary of heaping up Money, as if he had wanted it extremely, and at the same time his Expence was so little, that he gave away



way but *Oſoli* inſtead of *Drachma's*. But his Freedmen committed Diſorders, which were imputed to him. For if it be ſufficient for a private Man to abſtain from any Injuſtice, 'tis not enough for a Prince ; he is likewiſe oblig'd to hinder others from committing any, ſince that which he ſuffers, is no leſs detrimental to his Subjects, than what he commits himſelf. Thus tho' *Galba* did no great hurt, yet he had a very ill Reputation, becauſe he ſuffer'd others to do it, or took not the pains to inform himſelf of it. *Capito* and others had ſo little reſpect for him, that the firſt ſitting one day to decide a Cauſe, the Perſon whom he had condemn'd appeal'd from his Sentence, whereupon he went up to the higheſt Bench, and ſaid to him, ' Now try your Appeal before the Emperor, and condemn'd him to Death.

When *Galba* was come near *Rome*, *Nero's* Guards went to meet him, and petition'd him to continue them in the rank they held. The anſwer which he made them, that he would conſider of it, having diſpos'd them to ſome kind of Mutiny, he commanded his

Men to fall upon them, so that seven thousand were cut to pieces, and the rest were decimated. Thus had *Galba* preserv'd a firm and vigorous mind in a Body, oppress'd with Age and Sicknes, being perswaded that 'twas a condescension unworthy of an Emperor, to do any thing against his Will. His Guards one day asking him for Money, he refus'd them, saying, that he had been accusom'd to choosse Soldiers, and not to buy them. The People being very importunate, that *Tigillinus* and others who had committed great Disorders in the late Reign, might be brought to Punishment, he would not consent to it, which perhaps he might have done, if the People had not urg'd it in that manner. Nevertheles he commanded *Helius*, *Narcissus*, *Patrobius*, and *Locusta* the famous Poisoner, and some others who had been in great credit with *Nero*, to be carried through the City in Chains, and afterwards to be executed. If he was to be esteem'd and commended for all these things, he was likewise ridicul'd and despis'd for wearing his Sword continually, when he was so far advanc'd in Age, and sub-  
ject

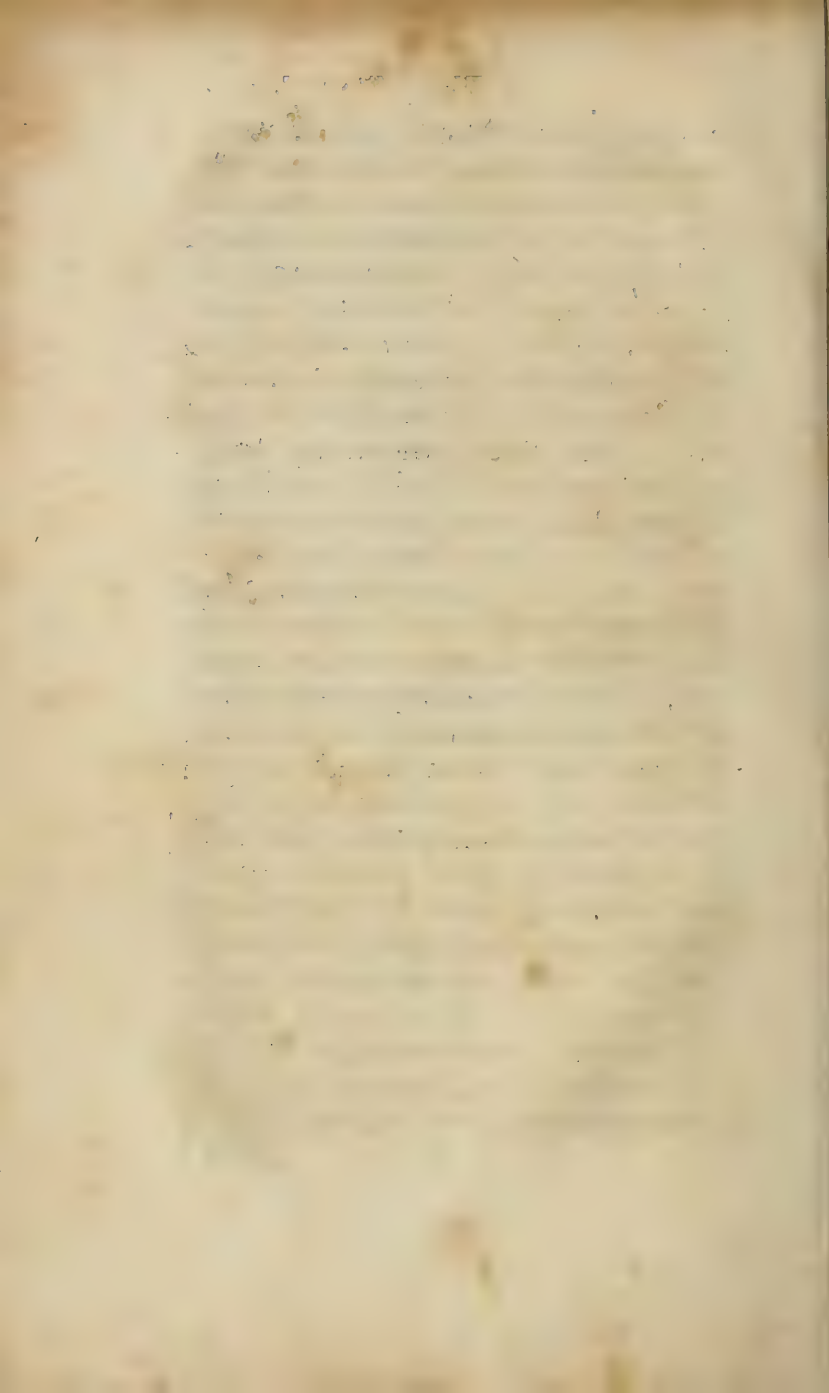
ject to several Infirmities. The Soldiers who serv'd in the two Provinces of *Germany* under *Rufus*, being extreamly angry because they had receiv'd no Gratification from *Galba*, search'd-out for one, in whose Person they might satisfy the violent desire they had of making an Emperor, which they could not perswade *Rufus* to consent to. They propos'd *Vitellius* for their purpose, who commanded at that time in the lower *Germany*, and whom they could esteem for nothing but the advantage of his Birth. They did not consider that he had formerly contributed to the pleasures of *Tiberius*, and that ever since he had led a voluptuous Life. They thought perhaps on the contrary, that those defects would make him the fitter for their Design. As for *Vitellius*, he did not in the least imagine that he was worthy of the Empire, and when he would shew the vanity of Judicial Astrology, and the ignorance of those who profess'd it, he brought no other proof than what they had said, that he should be possess'd one day of the Sovereign Power. *Nero* also laugh'd at this Prediction, and had such a con-

tempt for *Vitellius*, that he never did him the least hurt. As soon as *Galba* had receiv'd news of the Revolt of *Vitellius*, he adopted *Lucius Piso*, a young Lord of illustrious Birth, and approv'd Wisdom, and declar'd him *Cæsar*.

*Otho* did a great deal of hurt to the Empire in revenge, for not being prefer'd to *Piso*, and adopted in his room. 'Tis certain that he was very much esteem'd by *Galba*, and that day the Emperor was kill'd, he was the only Senator that stood near him when he Sacrific'd, which was the occasion of his succeeding him. For the *Augur* having declar'd to *Galba*, that there was a Conspiracy form'd against his Person, and advising him not to appear, *Otho* went away that instant, under what pretence I know not, and being admitted into the Camp by some Soldiers that he held intelligence with, he gain'd some others who were but ill inclin'd for *Galba*, corrupting them with Money, and receiv'd from them and their Companions the Sovereign Authority. *Galba* was no sooner inform'd of this Enterprize, but he sent some Persons to the Army, to perswade them  
to



to change their Minds, and to continue faithful to him. In the mean time a Soldier presents himself to him with a Sword in his Hand naked and bloody, and says to him, ' Take Courage, my Lord, I have kill'd *Otho*, and you are now in Safety. *Galba* believing he spoke truth, ask'd him who had commanded him to do what he had done, and went towards the *Capitol* with a design to offer Sacrifice. When he was in the Market-place, he was met by abundance of People, both on foot and on Horseback, who kill'd him in the presence of several Senators, and others without regard to his Age, or his Dignity either of High-Priest or Emperor. When he was wounded and fell from his Chair, he only said, ' What have I done to deserve this usage? *Sempronius Drusus* died in his defence, and by this Action merited the place which his name has found in History. *Piso* and several others were likewise kill'd, though they had not attempted to defend *Galba*. *Piso* was kill'd for no other reason, but because he had been declared Emperor. *Galba* had liv'd seventy two years, and reign'd nine Months thirteen Days.



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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
OTHO.

**G**ALBA dying in this manner,  
*Otho* receiv'd almost on the instant,  
presages of the punishment that was prepar'd for him.

As he was offering a Sacrifice, the entrails of the Victims appear'd Ominous, and gave him occasion to say, ' Why  
' should I undertake to play upon the  
' great Flute, which is a Proverb that  
' is usually said of those who do any  
' thing against their Interests? Yet more,  
he was so disturb'd in the Night, that  
he



he fell out of his Bed, and astonish'd his Guards with his fall, so that going into his Chamber, they found him extended upon the Ground. But though he had secret notices of the Misfortunes that were to happen to him, yet he did not renounce the Empire. On the contrary, he maintain'd himself in it, and underwent the Punishment he deserv'd. Nevertheless it must be own'd, that on several occasions he us'd great Moderation, and Equity to comply with the People. He was so far from following his Inclinations in that, that he did violence to himself, for fear of increasing the number of his Enemies, which was already but too great, by reason of the Partisans of *Viteilius*.

The Senate did all that depended on them to confirm *Otho* in the possession of the Empire, because he said that he had been forc'd to accept it, that he was drag'd to the Camp against his will, and while he resisted the pressing instances of the Soldiers, he ran in danger of his Life. He spoke with great Civility, and affected to seem very moderate. He saluted at a distance those who could not approach him, and made  
noble

noble Promises. Nevertheless it was easie to perceive, that his Government would prove more Insolent and Cruel, than that of *Nero* had been. He took his Name immediately, pardon'd Senators that had been condemn'd, and granted other Favours. He was very assiduous at the Theatre, with a design to flatter the People, and gain their Affections. He gave Strangers the Priviledge of the *Roman* freedom, and promis'd great Gratuities to several. Yet he got the Affections of but very few by these Methods, only of such as resembled him; his way of Living being very much suspected by every body, especially from the strict familiarity he held with *Sporus*, and other Favourites of *Nero*. He gave so unbounded a liberty to the Soldiers by the profusion of his Gifts, and the excess of his Flatteries, that they had one day the Insolence to break into his Palace when he was at Supper with several Senators, and to kill those who would have stop'd them at the Door of the Hall where they were eating, and had certainly put all to the Sword, if they had not made hast to rise from the Table,  
and

and hide themselves. *Otho* took this Action for a mark of the Affection they bore him, and rewarded them for it.

A certain Person, whose Name *Dion* could never learn, pretending at this time to be the Emperor *Nero*, was at last discover'd, and receiv'd the punishment his Imposture deserv'd. *Otho* having several times offer'd *Vitellius* in vain to share the Empire with him, resolv'd at length to decide the difference by Arms, and in order to it sent his Troops under the conduct of several Chiefs, whose ill Correspondence was the cause of their Defeat. The Battel was fought near *Cremona*, in which forty thousand Men fell on both sides. 'Tis said, this loss had been presag'd by several Prodigies, and among the rest, by a Bird of an extraordinary bigness, that had been seen for several days. A Horseman of the Army of *Otho*, having brought him the news of the Defeat, and being disbeliev'd by those who were at that time with the Emperor, ' Would to the Gods, My Lord, said ' he, that what I have told you were ' false. I could die with Joy, if your ' Army had won the Victory. But tho' ' it



‘ it is overcome, I am content to die,  
 ‘ lest I should be suspected to have fled  
 ‘ in order to save my Life. As for  
 ‘ you, My Lord, the Enemies are so  
 ‘ near, that you have but a very small  
 ‘ time to resolve what to do.

After he had spoke in this manner,  
 he kill’d himself, and so well confirm’d  
 the truth of what he had said by the  
 boldness of his Action, that no body  
 question’d it. But though his Friends  
 were very numerous, tho’ they had re-  
 ceiv’d a Reinforcement of Legions late-  
 ly arriv’d from *Pannonia*, and through  
 their tender love for *Otho*, were rea-  
 dy to renew the War for his Interest,  
 he spent the time unprofitably, till the  
 loss of the Battel had been confirm’d  
 by the testimony of several Persons ar-  
 riv’d from the Army. Then *Otho*, af-  
 ter some Contemplation, made a long  
 Harangue to his Soldiers, and among  
 other things said what follows. ‘ We  
 ‘ have hitherto had but too many Dif-  
 ‘ ferences and Divisions. I abhor the  
 ‘ thoughts of a Civil War, ev’n tho’  
 ‘ it were to bring me Victory. I love  
 ‘ the *Roman* People, though they can-  
 ‘ not be reconcil’d to me. Let *Vitelli-*  
 ‘ *us*

' us remain Victorious, since the Gods  
 ' are pleas'd to order it so. Let his Ar-  
 ' my flourish, I consent to it very wil-  
 ' lingly. 'Tis but reasonable that one  
 ' Man should die to preserve a great  
 ' many, rather than that a great num-  
 ' ber should perish to preserve a single  
 ' Man. I had rather be a *Mutius*, a  
 ' *Decius*, a *Curtius*, or a *Regulus*, than a  
 ' *Marius*, a *Cinna*, or a *Sylla*. Do not  
 ' force me to be like any of these Men  
 ' whom I abhor, nor envy me the glo-  
 ' ry of imitating those whom I esteem.  
 ' Go over to him for whom Victory  
 ' has declar'd her self, and endeavour  
 ' to obtain his favour. For me, I shall  
 ' know how to secure my Liberty, and  
 ' to make appear by very sensible Ef-  
 ' fects, that you have chosen an Em-  
 ' peror, who will not Sacrifice you to  
 ' his Interests, but Sacrifices himself for  
 ' yours. This Discourse of *Orho* divi-  
 ded the Soldiers between an admiration  
 for his Vertue, and compassion for his  
 Disgrace, insomuch that melting into  
 Tears, and making dismal Lamentati-  
 ons, they call'd him their Father, and  
 protested they lov'd him more tender-  
 ly than their own Children and Relati-  
 ons.

ons. They spent severals days in Disputes, during which *Otho* intreated them to let him die, and they obstinately refus'd to consent to his desire. At length having enjoyn'd them Silence, he spoke to them as follows. 'Why should I  
 ' shew less courage than the Soldier,  
 ' who as you have seen kill'd himself  
 ' for no other reason, but for having  
 ' brought his Prince the news of the  
 ' defeat of his Army? I am resolv'd to  
 ' follow him, that I may have no more  
 ' occasions of hearing or seeing any  
 ' thing of the like nature. I beg of  
 ' you, if you love me, to let me die,  
 ' and not oblige me to live. Go to the  
 Conqueror, and make your court to him. He retir'd after that into his Chamber, took a Dagger, and kill'd himself. The Soldiers wept for him, and buried him, and some of them ev'n kill'd themselves after him. This was the end of *Otho*, who liv'd thirty seven years, within eleven days. He reign'd but three Months and six Days, and finish'd an infamous Life by a glorious Death, renouncing in a very generous manner the Empire, of which he had possess'd himself by very criminal Measures.

THE





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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*VITELLIUS.*

THE *Roman* People had no sooner understood the Death of *Otho*, but they chang'd their Minds, and loaded him with Imprecations, upon whom they had a little before lavish'd their Praises, and wish'd Victorious. They proclaim'd *Vitellius* Emperor on the very instant, whom they had insulted so outrageously. Thus there is nothing stable among Men. They who enjoy the most flourishing Prosperity, and they who are driven to  
G the

the lowest ebb of Fortune, are both in a condition equally uncertain and doubtful, to day receiving Praises and Honours, and to morrow Disgraces and Affronts, according to the various capricio's of Fortune.

As soon as *Vitellius* came to *Rome*, he order'd Affairs as he thought fit, and publish'd an Edict, by which he banish'd all Judicial Astrologers, commanding them to leave *Italy* by a prefix'd time. In revenge they posted up Bills in the Night, which gave notice of the time he was to leave the World, and it fell out within the time, which is an evidence that they had an exact knowledge of futurity.

*Vitellius* abandon'd himself entirely to all sorts of Pleasures and Disorders, without taking any care of Affairs, or shewing any regard either for Gods or Men. He was very much addicted from his youth to Drinking, Gaming, the *Circus*, and the Theatre. He had spent a world of Money in those places, and contracted immense Debts. But as soon as he was in possession of the Sovereign Power, he plung'd himself more than ever in Luxury, and Pleasures,

fares, passing Days and Nights in Feasting, and often provoking himself to Vomit, in order to ease his Stomach, and to spare it the trouble of digesting. By this means he ruin'd his Health amidst his Excesses, which destroy'd all the other Companions of his Debaucheries. One of them call'd *Vibius Crispus*, being falln sick, and so hindred from going to the Feasts of *Vitellius*, said agreeably, 'I should have been dead, if I had not been Sick.

The Life and Reign of *Vitellius* were nothing else but one continued excess of Eating and Drinking. Every one was busie in looking after what was most Delicious and Costly upon Sea or Land to load the Tables, and provoke the Appetite; and these Meats are call'd to this day the food of *Vitellius*. It is not necessary for me to enter into the particulars of these monstrous Extravagancies, 'tis sufficient to say that all the World agrees, that during his Reign, he spent in feasting two Millions two thousand five hundred Drachma's. Thus he lavish'd in a little time the principal Riches of the Empire. He order'd to be put into one Dish, so prodigious



a quantity of Tongues, Brains, and Livers of Fishes and Birds, that it cost him twenty five thousand Drachma's. This Dish was of Silver, it being impossible to make one of Earth large enough; and it was preserv'd as a Vessel Consecrated to the Gods till the Reign of *Adrian*, who melted it. I cannot omit saying, that the Golden Palace of *Nero* did not seem large or magnificent enough for him, and though he prais'd his Actions and his Manners, he could not forbear to blame him for being no better lodg'd, and furnish'd. *Galeria* his Wife would often laugh at the indifferent furniture she had found in the Palace of the Emperors. They who consum'd so much Money, scarce kept any account, because they did not make the expence out of their own Stock. But yet they who made it, tho' they did it by turns, were extreemly incommoded by it. Some provided Breakfast, others Dinner, others Supper, others Collations; so that in a very little time, there was spent in feasting a Million of Drachmas. The change of *Vitellius's* fortune, was the subject of every bodies Raillery. They who had seen him formerly plung'd in the

the most filthy Debaucheries, and saw him now, affect a gravity in Assemblies; they who had seen him in a blue Habit wipe off the sweat from the Horses that were tir'd with the Course, and saw him now upon a fine Horse in a purple Habit: They who remembred that he durst not appear formerly in the publick place, for fear of being oppress'd by his Creditors, and who saw him now go up to the *Capitol* surrounded with Guards: In a word, they who consider'd the zeal with which he was courted, and who call'd to mind how backward People had been to take notice of him at another time, all these Persons, I say, could not forbear laughing. His Creditors who had been so rigid against him, when they saw him ready to depart for *Germany*, and had with much difficulty been perswaded to let him go, though he had given them Security, were now in a very different Humour, for instead of Laughing with the rest, they hid themselves with more care, than if they had owed Money. Nor was *Vitellius* unmindful of them, for he search'd for them with all possible Rigour, and when he had found

C 3                    them,

them, he oblig'd them to return into his Hands, the Titles they had to their Debts, telling them, that he had discharg'd the Sums they had lent him, by saving their Lives. He was often present at the Sports and Shows, with a design to get the Affections of the People. He supp'd with the chief Men of the Senate, and discours'd familiarly with them to secure their Friendship. He had a great value for his old Friends, instead of forgetting them, as 'tis usually practis'd among those, who rising suddenly, and contrary to expectation to a high Fortune, despis'd and hate those who knew them in their former Condition.

While he behav'd himself in this manner, he had Prefages of the Misfortunes that were to happen to him. A Comet was seen, and the Moon was twice Eclips'd against the usual course, to wit, once the fourth day, and another time the seventh. Besides, two Suns were seen at the same time, one in the East, which was clear and dazling, and the other in the West, which was pale and obscure. In the *Capitol* likewise the traces and footsteps  
of

of the Gods were mark'd, as if they were gone out : Yet more, the Soldiers who guarded it in the Night, reported that the Doors of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, open'd of their own accord with so dreadful a Noise, that some of the Guards died with fear. While these Prodigies were observ'd at *Rome*, *Vespasian*, who made War in *Judea*, receiv'd news of the Contest that had happen'd between *Otho* and *Vitellius* for the Empire, and began to consider what was to be done at a conjuncture that seem'd so favourable to him. He was esteem'd and belov'd not only for the Valour he had shewn in *Great Britain* and *Judea*, but also for his Prudence and his Equity, which made abundance of People wish and hope to live one day under his Power. *Mucian* pursu'd his Proclamation with an earnestness and zeal that were very extraordinary, in hopes that if *Vespasian* ever came to be possess'd of the Sovereign Authority, he would be so just as to let him share it with him. The rumour of this Intrigue was no sooner come to the Ears of the Soldiers, but they surrounded *Vespasian's* Tent,



and proclaim'd him Emperor. When I come to the History of his Reign, I shall not fail to relate the Signs and Dreams by which his future Grandeur had been foretold him, long before he was in possession of it.

But at this time he sent *Mucian* into *Italy*, to make War against *Vitellius*, and having settled the Affairs of *Syria*, and intrusted several Captains with the care of continuing the War against the *Jews*, he went into *Egypt*, where he amass'd the greatest quantity of Money and Corn that he possibly could, with a design to send them to *Rome*. His Legions that were in *Mæsia*, understanding the practices that were on foot to raise *Vespasian* to the Throne, staid not for the arrival of *Mucian*, whose march they had notice of, and attempted to make their own Commander Emperor. He was call'd *Antonius Primus*, had been formerly banish'd by *Nero*, then recall'd by *Galba*, and at this time commanded the Troops that were in *Pannonia*. Thus was he invested with an absolute Power, though he had neither been elected by Emperor, or Senate, which may be an Argument of  
the

the great Indignation the Soldiers had conceiv'd for *Vitellius*, and the ardent desire they had to Plunder. They earnestly wish'd for an occasion to ravage *Italy*, as they did with a Vengeance.

The news of this Storm that was gathering against *Vitellius*, did not oblige him to quit *Rome*, nor hinder him from taking his ordinary Diversions, or from giving the People a Combat of *Gladiators*. The part that was given *Sporus* to act in the Shows that were to be represented, being that of a young Girl that was ravish'd, he rather chose to kill himself, than be expos'd to so much Infamy. *Alienus* having receiv'd from *Vitellus* some Troops to oppose the designs of his Enemies, went to *Cremona*, and made himself Master of it. But when he consider'd that the Soldiers he commanded were enervated with Pleasures, and by a long course of Idleness had forgot the use of their Arms, whereas the Enemies had continually increas'd their Strength and their Courage by the assiduity of their Exercises, and their Exploits, he began to distrust the Success of his

Enter-

Enterprize. Having since had a Conference with *Antonius Primus*, about the means of coming to an amicable Agreement, he summon'd his Soldiers, represented to them on one side the Cowardice of *Vitellius*, and on the other the Valour of *Vespasian*, and perswaded them to change Parties. They took down on the instant the Images of *Vitellius*, and consented to acknowledge *Vespasian* for their Sovereign. But scarce were they return'd to their Camp, but they repented of what they had done, and raising a violent Mutiny, proclaim'd *Vitellius* Emperor again, and seiz'd upon *Alienus*, whom they charg'd with betraying them, and put him in Chains, without any regard to his Dignity of Consul. See to what Excesses Civil War carries those whom it has once inflam'd.

The Confusion and Astonishment of *Vitellius's* Army, were extreamly increas'd by an Eclipse of the Moon, which not only appear'd obscure, which alone is sufficient to disturb those who are in any fright, but red, bloody and stain'd with the most fatal Colours. But instead of relaxing upon this account  
from

from that hatred with which they were inflam'd, they came to Blows, and fought desperately. Though they had no General, *Alienus* continuing at *Cremona* in Chains, they were not afraid to fight with equal Forces, and had equal Success all the Day and Night following, nor could the very Night part them. They were transported with so violent a Rage, and passion to Overcome, that they slew one another as they were talking to each other on the score of Acquaintance, nor were Hunger, Weariness, Cold, Darknes, Wounds, or the number of the Dead that fell on all sides, capable of appeasing them. When the Moon came out of her Obscurity, they were seen sometimes standing on their feet upright, sometimes leaning upon their Lances, one side proclaiming *Vespasian*, and the other *Vitellius*, calling upon each other respectively, commending and affronting one another.

‘ What are we doing, said one Soldier  
 ‘ to his Companion, why should we  
 ‘ fight in this manner? Pass over to  
 ‘ my side. Come over your self to mine,  
 replied the other. What I’m going to  
 say, is altogether Astonishing. Their  
 Wives



Wives having brought them Meat and Drink, they offer'd it to their Enemies. For as they were all acquainted, they call'd one another by their Names, and said, ' Here eat, my Companion, 'tis ' no Dagger that I offer you, but Bread. ' Come and Drink, 'tis not my Buck- ' ler, but my Cup I hold out to you, ' that we may have the more Courage, ' and that whether I kill you, or you ' me, we may receive one or other lar- ' ger and deeper Wounds, and die with ' greater ease. These are our Funeral ' Ceremonies before Death. *Vespasian* ' and *Vitellius* fight by our Hands, to ' sacrifice us to the Manes of those who ' are already dead. They convers'd in this manner, and eat together, then renewed the Combat. Thus they pass'd all the Night in fighting, and resting by turns.

Two Soldiers of *Vespasians* Party in this Battel, did a very gallant Action. Being extreamly incommoded with a great Machine, they took two Bucklers from among the Spoils, which they had of their Enemies, and mingling with them approach'd the Machine without being perceiv'd, cut the Cords,  
and

and made it useless. About Sun-rise some Soldiers of the third Legion call'd the *Gallick* Legion, that had their Winter-quarters in *Syria*, and were then by chance in the Party of *Vespasian*, invoking his Name according to their Custom, those of the Party of *Vitellius* imagin'd that *Mucian* was arriv'd, suffer'd themselves to be conquer'd by their own fears, and the shouts of their Enemies, and betook themselves to flight. Thus a very small occasion suffices sometimes to frighten valiant Men, who at other times have despis'd the most dreadful Dangers. When they were got within their Walls,, they demanded Quarter, which no body granting, they unbound their Consul, and sent him with his Gown and Rods before him, to beg Mercy of their Enemies, which he did with such Success, that in consideration both of his Dignity and his Disgrace, he soon obtain'd of *Primus* the Conditions he desir'd. When the Gates of *Cremona* were open'd, and the Soldiers were got in, they began of a sudden to break into the Houses, and to put all to Fire and Sword. The ruine of this City was one of the greatest Losses that could have

have happen'd, as well by reason of the greatness of it, and the magnificence of its Buildings, as for its vast Riches, and number of Inhabitants and Strangers. The Soldiers of *Vitellius's* Party being acquainted with the Streets and Houses of the richest People, committed the greatest Disorders, and made no difficulty of turning their Arms against those Citizens, whose defence they had under taken before, to beat, wound and kill them, as if they had been Enemies that had wrong'd them, and had been conquer'd by them. Fifty thousand Men perish'd in the Fight, and plunder of the City.

*Vitellius* was in a strange disorder when he receiv'd the news of so considerable a Loss. He had been extreamly disturb'd before at some unlucky Presages that had happen'd to him. For as he was making a Speech to his Soldiers, upon the occasion of a Sacrifice which he had begun, a great number of Vulturs tore the Victims in pieces, and had like to have tumbled him from his Throne. But the News of the defeat of his Troops, troubled him yet more than the Prodigies had astonish'd him.

him. He sent his Brother in all haste to *Terracina*, and by his means kept possession of that strong place. But when the Troops of *Vespasian* advanc'd towards *Rome*, he was seiz'd with such a violent Consternation, that he neither knew what he thought or did, all his Motions being as irregular as those of a Ship toss'd in a Storm. Sometimes he took a Resolution to maintain himself in the possession of the Empire, and in order to it prepar'd for War. Sometimes he seem'd ready to give it up, and to lead a private Life. Now he cloathed himself in Purple, and fix'd his Sword to his Side, and now he put on a Robe of a dark colour. He made Speeches in the Palace and *Forum*, in which there was no less Disorders and Extravagance, than in his Actions; for he encourag'd his Soldiers to War, and in the same breath exhorted them to Peace. He offer'd to sacrifice himself for the good of the State, and a little after took his Son in his Arms, and embrac'd him tenderly, to raise Pity in the Spectators. He dismiss'd his Guards, and recall'd them the same Instant. He retir'd into his Brothers House,  
and



and immediately after return'd to his Palace. Thus the inequality of his Conduct, made several leave his Party. For when they consider'd that he was in a manner out of his Wits, they no longer obey'd his Orders, but consult-ed their own Safety more than his. They found in his Conduct many occasions for their Raillery, but chiefly when in Assemblies he offer'd his Sword to the Consuls and Senators, as a mark of resigning the Sovereign Power, tho' no body durst receive it, which made his offers appear very ridiculous.

In the mean time as *Primus* was advancing towards the City, *Cajus Quintius Atticus*, *Cneus Cerilius Simplex* Consuls, *Sabinus* Brother of *Vespasian*, and others of the chief Men of the State met together, and after some Consultations, broke into the Palace with some Soldiers, who were of their side, with a design to make *Vitellius* either by consent or force resign the Empire. But being repuls'd by the *Germans* who guarded *Vitellius*, they retir'd with loss, and fled to the *Capitol*, whither they brought *Domitian* Son of *Vespasian*, and his Relations, and put them in Safety.

They

They were attack'd the next day by some of the Troops of *Vitellius*, whom they repuls'd at first with vigour enough. But the Besiegers having set fire to the Houses adjoyning to the *Capitol*, made a very great Massacre of the Besieged, plundering and carrying off all that could be found, and at last set fire to the Temple of *Jupiter*. *Sabinus* and *Atticus* were taken and sent to *Vitellius*. *Domitian* and the Son of *Sabinus* found means to escape in the first Attack, and lay perdue in private Houses.

But when the Troops of *Vespasian* under the conduct of *Quintus Petilius Cerealis* his Kinsman, and one of the chief of the Senate, and of *Antonius Primus*, approach'd *Rome*, *Vitellius* was seized with extream fear. Those of *Vespasian's* Party were inform'd of the State of the City by Messengers, who found ways to carry them the News, and by Letters which their Friends convey'd to them sometimes in Urns, which were carried out of the City, sometimes in Fruit-baskets, and sometimes in Fowling-canes, and by that means had an opportunity of framing their Resolutions

ons according to the advices they receiv'd. The fire they saw in the *Capitol* at that time, was a guide to them, as Lanthorns upon the Coasts are to Mariners. *Cerealis* advancing first at the Head of the Horse, *Vitellius* sent Ambassadors to him, whom he chose from among the Senators and Vestals. They could find no body in the Camp of *Cerealis*, that would give them Audience, and they ev'n put their Lives in danger. Then going to *Primus* who was not far off, they obtain'd Audience of him, but nothing else. On the contrary, the Soldiers that were commanded against *Vitellius*, having attack'd the Bridge of the *Tyber* vigorously, put to flight those who guarded it. Some Horse swimming through the River attack'd *Vitellius's* Men behind, who being at the same time attack'd before, sustain'd a very great Loss. In earnest the Army of *Vespasian* at that time committed all the Disorders they laid to *Vitellius's* charge, and on which account they pretended to have taken up Arms. They kill'd a world of People with Iron and Lead, which they threw from the tops of Houses, so that computing those  
who

who were knock'd on the Head in the Streets, there fell to the number of fifty thousand Men in very few days. While the City was thus expos'd to Plunder, some pursuing, and others fly-ing, while some of the very conquer'd Party found no other way to save themselves, but to mix with the Conquerors, and ravage and Murder as they did, *Vitellius* seiz'd with fear, and disguis'd in a mean Habit, hid himself in an obscure place where Dogs were kept, thinking to get out in the Night, and fly to his Brother at *Terracina*. But the Soldiers looking after him, and finding him with so much the less difficulty, as 'twas easie enough to know an Emperor, drew him out of the place, clad as he was in a tatter'd Habit cover'd with Blood, which proceeded from the Teeth of the Dogs who had bit him, tore the rest of his Habit, tied his Hands behind him, and put a Rope about his Neck. They drag'd him thus out of the Palace, where he had formerly led so voluptuous a Life, carried him along the *Via Sacra*, which he had so often pass'd in a magnificent Chair, and brought him to the *Foram*, where



he had made so many Harangues. Some struck him on the Head, others pull'd him by the Beard, and all insulted him with cutting Railleries, and abusive words. They reproach'd him chiefly with his Intemperance, and made a piece of mockery of his great Belly. The shame and confusion he was in, making him hang down his Head, the Soldiers were so barbarous as to prick him under the Chin with the points of their Daggers, to oblige him to raise it. But at last a *German* having compassion on him, abhorring the cruel usage he receiv'd, said to him: ' I'll do you this piece of Service at least, which is the only one in my Power, then wounded him with one blow, and kill'd himself with another. Not dying of the wound he had receiv'd, he was drag'd to Prison, and his Statues with him, upon which all sorts of Railleries were made, and all manner of indecent Reflections. *Vitellius* being pierc'd with Grief, could not forbear saying, ' I have been your Emperor. At which the Soldiers being inrag'd, drew him to the Stairs from whence all the Filth and Ordure was thrown, kill'd him, cut off his

his Head, and bore it in Triumph thro' the City. His Wife afterwards paid her Duty to him, in performing the Ceremony of his Funeral. He liv'd fifty four years, and Reign'd one within ten days. His Brother was on his march from *Terracina*, with a design to assist him; but hearing of his Death by the way, and meeting with those who had bent sent against him, he made a composition with them, and obtain'd his Life, which they nevertheless took from him soon after. They also put the Son of *Vitellius* to Death, though he had never hurt any of the Relations of *Otho* or *Vespasian*. When all these things were done *Mucian* arriv'd, who with *Domitian* shar'd the management of Affairs, brought him to the Camp, and got him to make a Speech to the Soldiers, though he was yet but very young. He afterwards gave five and twenty Drachmas to each Soldier.



**V**ESPASIAN was declar'd Emperor by the Senate, and *Titus* and *Domitian* his Sons design'd *Cæsars*. *Vespasian* and *Titus* were also made Consuls, though one was then in *Egypt*, and the other in *Palestine*. He had had Presages and Dreams, which seem'd to promise him the Empire long before he obtain'd it. At a Country-Seat where he us'd to pass the greatest part of the year, an Ox came one

D 4

day



day to him while he was at Table, and bowing before him laid his Head at his Feet. Another time a Dog brought the Hand of a Man under his Table. A great Cypress which had been torn up by the Roots by a violent Wind, rais'd it self the next day, and had greater force than ever. *Vespasian* himself had a Dream, by which he was promis'd that he should come to the Empire when *Nero* had lost a Tooth, and *Nero* lost one the next day. *Nero* had also a Dream, in which he thought he saw *Jupiter's* Chariot enter into the House of *Vespasian*. But these Dreams wanted Explanation, whereas that which I am going to add, seems to contain a very clear Prediction. *Vespasian* had one day order'd *Josephus* the Jew, whom he had taken Prisoner a little before, to be put in Chains, the Jew smiling said to him, ' You bind me now, but ' you shall set me at liberty in a year, ' when you shall have taken possession ' of the Sovereign Power. Thus did *Vespasian* seem to be destin'd, as some others had been before him, to ascend the Throne one day. While he was still in Egypt, *Mucian* and *Domitian* dispos'd of  
all

all Affairs at *Rome* with an absolute Power. This *Mucian* often boasted of having procur'd the Empire for *Vespasian*, call'd him his Brother, and possess'd a very great Authority. He did, and order'd whatsoever he thought fit without waiting for his consent. Yet he gave out orders in his Name, and seal'd them with his Signet which he had in his possession. *Vespasian*, who was not ignorant that *Mucian* and *Domitian* govern'd the Empire, wrote one day to his Son in these terms: ' I give you ' thanks, my Son, that you leave me ' the Title of Emperor, and that you ' have not yet depriv'd me of it. 'Tis not to be express'd, how much Money *Mucian* amass'd from all parts, with which he fill'd the Royal Treasury, charging himself with the hatred of these Exactions to spare *Vespasian*. He often us'd to say, that Money was the sinews of Government, and advis'd *Vespasian* to heap it up, which he did with such application and care at the beginning, that he made the State and himself very Rich. There happen'd in *Germany* several Revolts, the recital of which doth not appear to be at all necessary.

Yet

Yet there was one thing so very remarkable, that I think it ought not to be omitted. *Julius Sabinus*, who was one of the most considerable of the People of *Langres*, rais'd an Army that depended only on himself, and took the name of *Cæsar*, pretending to be descended from *Julius*. After he had been beat in some Engagements, he retir'd into an obscure place, and hid himself in a Tomb, to which he had set fire before. He was thought to be dead, and liv'd nine years in this Tomb, during which time his Wife had two Children by him.

*Cerealis* fought several Battels to extinguish the Rebellion, and one among the rest, in which so great a number of *Romans* and Strangers were cut in pieces, that the dead Bodies stop'd the course of a River, that us'd to run along the field of Battel. *Domitian* apprehending the effects of his Father's Anger, which he had rais'd by the disorder of his Conduct, and the insolence of his Attempts, in which there was nothing but what was extraordinary, retir'd to Mount *Alba*, where he fell so desperately in love with *Domitia*,

*tia*, the Daughter of *Corbulo*, that he took her away from *Lucius Lamius Emilianus* her Husband, and afterwards Married her.

In the mean time *Titus* who had been charg'd with the War against the *Jews*, took the City of *Jerusalem*, and burnt the Temple, for which the *Jews* had so extream a Veneration, that they thought it an Advantage, a Happiness, a Victory and Glory not to survive its ruine. Abundance of *Jews* were taken, and among the rest *Barporas* their Commander, who was the only Man put to death after the Triumph. The City was taken upon a Saturday, which the *Jews* observe still with great Devotion. Since that time, they who had a mind to keep strictly to the Laws of their Country, were oblig'd to pay two Drachma's every year to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. The greatness of this Victory induc'd *Vespasian* and *Titus* to take the Title of Emperor, tho' neither of them would take the surname of *Judaicus*. But they had all the Honours heap'd upon them, that so glorious an Expedition deserv'd, and among the rest they had Triumphal Arches erected to them.

When



When *Vespasian* entred *Alexandria*, the *Nile* rose four fingers higher than it was wont, or than it ever rose except once before, as it was said.

At the same time he heal'd two Men, whereof one had lost the use of his Eyes, and the other that of a Hand, both having had notice in a Dream, that they were to expect their cure from him. To produce these extraordinary effects, which gave occasion to a belief, that there was something of Divinity about him, he trod upon the Hand of one, and rub'd the Eyes of the other with his own Spittle. But the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* esteem'd him not the more for these Miracles. On the contrary, they express'd in private and in publick their hatred for him, and often let it break out by their Raileries and Abuses. The occasion of their Dissatisfaction was, that in stead of receiving from him, as they expected, great Rewards for being the first who had own'd and saluted him in the quality of Emperor, they had not only receiv'd none, but were likewise loaded with all manner of Impositions. Indeed, there was no sort of Tribute which

which he had not laid upon them, without exempting the poorer sort, not even Beggars, nor without sparing the most Sacred things, not so much as the Temples. He re-establish'd such Imposts as had been abolish'd, and augmented such as were kept up, and continued them throughout the whole Empire, even as far as *Rome*. The Inhabitants of *Alexandria* incens'd at their ill Treatments, made severe Railleries upon him, and said among other things, that he exacted six *Oboli*, which put him into so furious a Passion, though he was naturally very Mild, that he order'd them to pay in earnest six *Oboli per Head*, and was very near treating them with more Rigour. The Petitions which *Titus* offer'd in their favour, were of no Service to them. Nor did they spare *Vespasian*. For getting in crowds about *Titus* one day, they said aloud, ' We excuse him, because he knows not how to Govern. Thus did they abuse the goodness of the Emperor, to satisfy their ardent desire of Railing, to which they were always very much addicted.

When

When *Vespasian* came near *Rome*, he found *Mucian* with the chief Persons of the Senate at *Brundisium*, and *Domitian* at *Benevento*. This last mistrusting his own Conduct, his Conscience reproaching him, had no other way to avoid the punishment he deserv'd, but by seeming sometimes to have lost his Senses. He spent the greatest part of the year at Mount *Alba*, where he liv'd after a very ridiculous and extravagant manner, busying himself often with killing Flies. I am sensible this Action is unworthy of the gravity of History, but I am oblig'd to remark it in order to shew the disposition of this young Prince, especially since he did not abstain from it after he came to the Empire. A certain Person took occasion from hence, to say a very pleasant thing. Being ask'd one day who was with the Emperor, he answer'd, ' No body, not so much as a Fly. *Vespasian* his Father could not suffer his Insolence, and often reprov'd him severely, though he treated all others with such Civility, that he seem'd to have forgot his own Greatness, and only remembred his former Condition. In the  
be-

beginning of his Reign, he undertook to build a Temple in the *Capitol*, was the first that carried Earth upon his Back, to oblige Persons of the first Quality to follow his Example, and to take away from the People all pretence of excusing themselves from this Work. He affected an extraordinary magnificence in publick Works, and to have wherewithal to maintain the Expence, he depriv'd himself of every thing that was Superfluous, taking only what was Necessary. He prohibited upon this occasion the sale of any Eatables in Taverns, except Greens and Herbs. In which he shew'd clearly, that when he laid Impositions upon the People, he had no other intention, but to provide for the publick necessities, without consulting his own Pleasures.

For what relates to his manner of Living, he seldom lodg'd in his Palace, and spent the greatest part of the year in the Gardens of *Salust*, where he not only receiv'd Senators, but Persons of all Conditions. His friends convers'd with him in the Morning before he was up, and others saluted him when he pass'd through the Streets. The Gates  
of



of his Palace were open all day, and there were no Guards to hinder admittance. He went constantly to the Senate, imparted all Affairs to the Senators, and often distributed Justice in the place of Harangues. When his Age hindred him from meddling with business in Person, or his absence oblig'd him to declare his intentions to the Senate in Writing, his Children read his orders in the Senate, in which his design was to honour that Assembly. He did them the honour to entertain some of them always at his Table, and sometimes went to Sup with those for whom he had a Friendship. In a word, he was Emperor in nothing but the care he took of the Government, and in every thing else did not raise himself above a private Man. He would be very pleasant with his Friends, and suffer them to be as free with him. Some Anonymous Libels having been publish'd against his Government, he shew'd no concern at it, and propos'd on the contrary what he thought fit with a wonderful Sedateness. A certain Person whose name was *Phebus*, going one day to ask his Pardon for somewhat

what he had spoke against him formerly in a Passion, because he had knit his Brows, and shew'd his Displeasure at some indecent Action of *Nero's* at the Theatre in *Greece*, *Vespasian* did him no hurt, and contented himself with returning the same expression to him, which was, Go to the Gallows.

*Vologeses* having written a Letter to him, which begun in this manner, *Arfaces* King of Kings to *Flavius Vespasian* Health, instead of charging him with Incivility, answer'd it in the same terms, without taking the quality of Emperor, *Helvidius Priscus*, who had been bred up from his youth in the Study of the *Stoick* Philosophy, and imitated unseasonably and improperly the liberty of *Thraseas* his Father-in-Law, having affected at the same time when he was *Pretor*, not only to do nothing in honour of *Vespasian*, but also to insult him with abusive Words, and the Tribunes of the People having seiz'd him for that reason, and committed him to the custody of the Officers, *Vespasian* was in confusion upon it, and went out of the Senate Weeping, and saying, ' My Son,  
E ' or

‘ or no body shall be my Successor. Several Philosophers of the Sect of the *Stoicks*, among whom was *Demetrius* the *Cynick*, having under the colour of their Profession, made several publick Speeches injurious to the Government, and drawn a great number of People into their opinion, *Mucian* spoke of them to *Vespasian*, so much to their Disadvantage, and rather out of Passion and Fury, than any love for Sciences, that he banish’d them from *Rome*. *Vespasian* commanded them all to be gone, except *Musonius*. *Demetrius* and *Hostilius*, were banish’d into Islands. The last receiv’d his Order, at a time when he was discoursing with his Friends about publick Affairs, and declaiming against the Government; but having chang’d his tone on the instant, he was spar’d. *Demetrius* continuing his Invectives, *Vespasian* sent him this Message, ‘ You do all you can to oblige me to take away your Life, but a Dog must bark till he is very troublesome, before I can do him any hurt.

*Cenis* *Vespasian's* Mistress, died about this time. That which makes me mention her, is her Fidelity, and the excellency of her Memory, of which the following story may be some kind of proof. *Antonia* her Mistress, and Mother of *Claudius*, having one day written a Letter to *Tiberius* concerning *Sejanus*, and telling *Cenis* who was her Confident in this Intrigue, that it must be blotted out again, lest it should fall into any one's Hands: 'In vain do you command me, Madam, said she, to do it, 'tis impossible I should efface it from my Memory, so deep an impression do your orders make in it. She was doubtless very much to be valued, for this rare advantage she had receiv'd from Nature. Nor was she less to be admir'd, for the singular pleasure which *Vespasian* took in her Conversation, and he acquir'd great Power and immense Riches by her means. She extracted Money out of every thing. She drew it out of Offices, Governments of Provinces, Commands of Armies, and sometimes from the Answers of the Emperor; and she put all this Money into the



Hands of *Vespasian*. Nevertheless it must be own'd, that he would never receive any to condemn an innocent Person, though he often did to pardon Criminals. 'Twas judg'd by other Actions of *Vespasian*, that *Cenis* receiv'd all this Money by his order. I shall mention some of those Actions, which serv'd as a foundation for this Suspicion. Some Persons having resolv'd to lay out two hundred and fifty thousand Drachma's upon a Statue for the Emperor, he ask'd them for the Money, saying, ' That ' his Hand was the Pedestal on which ' the Statue ought to be set. *Titus* being vex'd one day at certain Imposts, and among others, at that which was levied upon Urine, he shew'd him some pieces of Gold that were the product of it, and ask'd him if he found they smelt ill.

In the sixth Consulship of *Vespasian*, and the fourth of *Titus*, the Temple of Peace was dedicated, and a Pillar which is thought to have been a hundred foot high, was set up in the *Via Sacra*. The Statue of *Nero*, or rather that of *Titus* in the opinion of some, was upon the top. *Vespa-*

*Vespasian* sometimes entertain'd the People with Combats of wild Beasts in the *Amphitheatre*. He took no pleasure in those of *Gladiators*. Yet *Titus* fought once with *Alienus* at some Games, which were celebrated by young Men in his own Country, but 'twas only with Foils.

The *Parthians* being at War with other People, and demanding Succour of *Vespasian*, he refus'd them, saying, that he did not concern himself with the affairs of others.

*Berenice* being at that time in great Consideration, she went to *Rome* with *Agrippa* her Brother. *Agrippa* receiv'd Honours there, equal to those which are paid to the *Prætors*, and *Berenice* lodg'd in the Palace, and contracted so strict a friendship with *Titus*, that she had hopes of Marrying him, and behav'd her self already in publick, as if she had been his Wife. But when *Titus* saw that the *Romans* disapprov'd of this Alliance, and spread reports abroad to his disadvantage, he sent her away.

There were at this time some troublesome and impertinent *Sophists*, that found means to get privately into *Rome*. There was one among the rest call'd *Diogenes*, who presenting himself in the Theatre, and abusing the People, was taken and whipt. Another call'd *Eras* coming up afterwards, and imagining that if he should refine upon the insolence of his Companion, he should not meet with worse usage, upon the strength of this belief, utter'd with a loud Voice, several scandalous and abusive Expressions: But he lost his Head for his pains.

*Sabinus* the Gaul, who had taken the name of *Cæsar*, and raising an Army, had been vanquish'd, and had afterwards hid himself in a Tomb, as I have said, was discover'd, brought to *Rome*, and put to Death with *Peponilla* his Wife, who had sav'd his Life. She did all she could to move compassion in *Vespasian*, presenting her Children before him, and saying, ' She had brought  
' them into the World in a Tomb, and  
' had taken care to breed them up, that  
' they might come in greater number  
' to

‘ to prostrate themselves at his Feet,  
 ‘ and implore his Mercy. By these words, and the moving sight, she drew tears from the Eyes of *Vespasian*, and others that were present, but yet obtain’d no favour. *Alienus* and *Marcellus*, whom *Vespasian* took to be the most faithful of his Friends, and whom he had loaded with Honours, conspir’d against him; but they could not execute their design, because it was discover’d, and *Alienus* was kill’d in the Palace, as he was rising from Table. *Titus* had given order for it, lest the Conspirators who had already got to their Party a considerable number of Soldiers, should undertake something in the Night. *Marcellus* was condemn’d in the Senate, and cut his own Throat. Thus these two Men upon whom this Emperor had shewr’d his favours, were so ungrateful as to make an attempt upon his Life; so true is it, that there are no benefits that can subdue an evil Disposition.

’Tis certain that *Vespasian* died at the *Cutilian* Baths, in the Country of the *Sabines*, and not of the Gout to which



he was subject, but of a Feaver. There were some, and among the rest *Adrian*, that falsely charg'd *Titus* with poisoning him at a Banquet. His Death was preceded by Prodigies. A Comet appear'd, and *Augustus's* Tomb open'd of its own accord. As the Physicians were one day advising him to change his way of living during his Illness, and to discontinue his Functions, he replied, 'that an Emperor ought to die 'standing. As some were talking of the Comet which had appear'd, he said to them, ' 'Tis not my Death it Presages, but that of the King of the *Parthians*, for 'tis Hairy, and I am Bald. When he was dying, he said, I am going to be a God. He liv'd sixty nine Years, eight Months, and reign'd ten years and six Months. Thus there was a year and two and twenty days between the death of *Nero*, and the reign of *Vespasian*, of which I thought my self oblig'd to take notice, that People may not be deceiv'd in beginning to reckon from the day of an Emperor's Death, the Reign of his Successor. For these Princes have not succeeded

succeeded one another in such a manner. They pretended to be Emperors as soon as they were proclaim'd, though their Predecessor was yet alive, and so the time of their Reign ought not to be reckon'd from the day of the death of him that preceded them.

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EMPEROR  
*TITUS*.

FROM the time that *Titus* possess'd alone the Sovereign Power, he committed no Murder, and was not a slave to Love. He was gentle and moderate to those who had made an attempt upon his Life, and chaste and virtuous in the midst of the most charming Objects, ev'n in the presence of *Berenice*, who was come back to *Rome* after the Death of *Vespasian*. Perhaps he chang'd his Manners, in changing his Condition, they who reign alone,



alone, doubtless governing better than those who have Companions that partake of the Power. For these being unmindful of the Honour of the Empire, abuse their Power, and exercise it after a manner that makes them odious and insupportable to their Subjects, whereas those on whom all Affairs absolutely depend, take great care to preserve their Reputation. This is what *Titus* would have insinuated to a Man for whom he had formerly a great kindness, when he said to him ; ‘ ’Tis one thing to stand in need of any one, and another thing to be a Judge, as ’tis one thing to beg a Favour, and another to receive One. He did no ill thing during that little time he possess’d the Empire. He was Master of it but two Years, two Months, and twenty Days, and was near forty years old when he took possession of it. This has given occasion to some, to make a Comparison between his short Reign, and the long one of *Augustus*, and to say, that as *Augustus* had not been belov’d by the *Romans*, if he had not liv’d so long ; so *Titus* had shar’d the same fate, if he had not been taken off in the flower of his

his Age by a sudden Death. *Augustus* had been constrain'd by the ambition of his Enemies, and the opposition of the People, to commit extream cruelties in order to confirm his Power. But he had afterwards the leisure to give proofs of his generous Disposition. On the contrary, *Titus* as he began his Reign with a singular sweetness of Temper, died at a time when his Reputation was highest, and perhaps had lost it, if he had not died so soon, and time might have afforded a judgment of him, that he had more good Fortune than Vertue. Nor Senator, nor any other was put to death in his Reign. He never receiv'd any charge of Impiety committed against his Person, nor suffer'd others to receive any. 'I cannot, said he, receive an Injury, because I do nothing  
' that can be reasonably found fault  
' with, and I despise Calumnies: With  
' regard to the Emperors who are dead,  
' if they are become Gods, and have  
' any Power, they will revenge as they  
' think fit, the Injuries that shall be done  
' them.

He made abundance of Edicts for the quiet and safety of his Subjects, confirming

firming to them the enjoyment of those Advantages which had been granted them by preceding Emperors, without putting them to the trouble of soliciting him for such a Favour. He banish'd all private Evidences from *Rome*.

There was at that time a second War in *Great Britain*, in which *Cn. Julius Agricola* wasted the Lands of the Enemies, and was the first of the *Romans* who discover'd *Great Britain* to be an Island. For certain Soldiers who had mutiny'd against their *Centurions* and *Tribunes*, and had put them to Death, getting into a Vessel, and sailing at the disposal of the Waves and Winds towards the western part of the Island, landed against their design upon the Coast, near which was one of the Camps which the *Romans* had in the Country. *Agricola* sending other Soldiers to make the same Tour by Sea, discover'd that *Great Britain* was an Island. After this War was ended, *Titus* was the fifteenth time proclaim'd Emperor. *Agricola* pass'd the rest of his Life in Contempt and Poverty, for having done exploits far above other Generals, and tho'

tho' *Titus* had granted him the Honour of a Triumph, *Domitian* afterwards put him to Death. There happen'd about the same time in *Campania*, very extraordinary Events, such as were capable of giving as much Fear as Astonishment. Mount *Vesuvius*, which is near the Sea of *Naples*, fell a burning in Autumn, and conceiv'd, that I may so speak, a most dreadful Fire. All the parts of this Mountain were formerly of an equal height, but the Flames having consum'd the middle, and spar'd the extremities, it seems now to have the figure of an *Amphitheatre*. There is on the top of it abundance of Fruit-Trees and Vines. The middle is made hollow by the Fire, and it constantly vents Smoak in the Day, and Flame in the Night, but not in equal quantity. Sometimes Ashes burst out, and sometimes Stones, which are thrown up in the Air by the violence of the Winds. It sometimes makes a noise like howling, which proceeds from the Air, which is shut up in its Bowels. The same effects appear for the most part every year upon this Mountain. But they seem'd so much the more surprizing at  
this



this time, because it was the first. Yet it must be confess'd, that when we compare them with other Prodigies that happen'd at the same time, we find them less admirable. There was seen both in the Night and the Day, upon the same Mountain, and thereabouts, and even in the Air, Men of a Stature like that of Giants. There was afterwards a very great Drought, dreadful Earthquakes, that lower'd the tops of the Mountains, and all the Country was as hot, as if it had been all on fire. There were dreadful noises heard, like Howling and Thunder-claps, which came out of the Earth. At the same time the Sea was in a violent Agitation, and Heaven and Earth seem'd to answer its Fury, one by the most terrible Thunder and Lightning that can be conceiv'd, and the other by the fall and concussion of its Mountains. Stones flew up in the Air to a prodigious height. A black fire and a thick smoak, darkned the Sun to that degree, that it seem'd to be in Eclipse. The Night was turn'd into Day, and the Day into Night. 'Twas the general belief, that the Race of Giants was return'd to the Earth, and People fanci-

fancied they saw Phantoms of such a monstrous size through the smoak, with which the Air was fill'd, and they likewise thought they heard the sound of Trumpets. Some held for certain, that the Universe was ready to fall again into its Original Choas, or to be destroy'd by Fire, and in this persuasion some left their Houses, and ran into the Streets for refuge, and others quitted the Streets, and entred into their Houses upon the same account. Some left the Sea for the Land, and others repair'd to the Sea for Sanctuary.

In a word, every body was so disturb'd by the dismal image of these changes, that whatsoever condition they might be in hereafter, they thought there could not be a more unhappy State than the present one. This dreadful fire scatter'd such a prodigious quantity of Ashes, that the Sea, Earth and Air were cover'd with them, and Men, Beasts, Fishes and Birds were choak'd. Two Cities, *Herculanea*, and *Pompeis*, were in a manner buried with all the Inhabitants, who by misfortune were assembled in the Theatre of the last place. These Ashes ascended so high in  
F the

the Air, that they darkned the Sun, and were transported by the Wind into *Africa, Syria, Egypt* and *Rome*. When they appear'd in this City, before they had receiv'd the news of the combustion in *Campania*, the People could not imagine from whence they came, nor judge it to be any thing else but an effect of a general destruction of the World. These Ashes at that time brought only a light indisposition upon the *Romans*, but afterwards occasion'd an Epidemical Distemper.

The year following, and at the time when *Titus* visited *Campania*, and saw the miserable remains of this dreadful Fire, there happen'd another in *Rome*, by which the Temples of *Serapis*, and *Isis*, the *Septa*, the Temple of *Neptune*, the Baths of *Agrippa*, the *Pantheon*, the *Diribitorium*, the Theatre of *Balbus*, that of *Pompey*, the Gallery of *Octavia*, with the Books that were in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and other Temples thereabouts were consum'd. This misfortune seem'd to be rather an effect of the anger of the Gods, than of the malice or negligence of Men. *Titus* sent two Consular Men into *Campania*

*pania* to establish Colonies there, and gave them Money on this occasion, which was said to him by right of *Escheat*. For he was so far from taking what was offer'd or promis'd to him by private Men, Communities, and Kings, that on the contrary he gave them what he had. He did nothing else that was considerable, except only this, that he dedicated the Amphitheatre, and the Baths that bore his Name. He gave the People Diversions that were extraordinary in this *Amphitheatre*. There were Troops of Cranes that fought together. Four Elephants, and nine thousand Beasts of different sorts were kill'd there. Some were kill'd by Women of mean condition. Several fought after the manner of Gladiators, and others in imitation of regulated Troops that serve at Sea or at Land. The *Amphitheatre* was of a sudden fill'd with Water, and there appear'd Bulls, Horses, and other Domestick Animals, who did the same Exercises there as upon Land. There was likewise seen two Fleets, one bore the name of *Corinth*, and the other that of *Corfou*, and these two Fleets presented a Naval Combat. There were



also Combats in the Gardens of *Cajus* and *Lucius*, which *Augustus* had formerly order'd to be dug up for the same end. There was the first day a Naval Fight, and a great destruction of Beasts. The next day there was a course of Chariots. The third day there was a Naval Combat of three thousand Men, and at last a fight at Land. The Combatants had taken the names of *Athens* and *Syracuse*. The first, after they had conquer'd the second, descended into a little Island, and there took a Fort, which had been erected, by Storm. There was for the space of a hundred days, several Shews of this nature. *Titus* threw from a high place little Bowls of Wood, in which were written the names either of something to be eat, or some Habit, or Vessel of Gold or Silver, or a Horse, or Slave, and whoever got the Bowl, receiv'd what was written in it, of the Officers that were order'd to distribute those Presents.

The last day of these publick Rejoycings, *Titus* wept before all the People, and did nothing else that was Remarkable. The year following in which *Flavius* and *Pollio* were Consuls, after he had

had dedicated the Amphitheatre and the Baths which I have mention'd, he died at the same Baths where *Vespasian* his Father had deceas'd. A report ran, that *Domitian* his Brother had poison'd him, and this rumour found the more credit, because 'tis certain he had laid a snare for him before. Others assure, that he died of a fit of Sickness, but that his Cure being not despair'd of, *Domitian* to hasten his Death had him put into a Chest full of Snow. 'Tis certain that before *Titus* was dead, *Domitian* entred into *Rome*, and the Camp, and took the Title of Emperor, and made Presents to the Soldiers, equal to what *Titus* had made them. This Prince said, as he was dying, that he repented of one thing without explaining what it was, which gave birth to several Conjectures. Some guess'd that it was for having enjoy'd *Domitia* his Brothers Wife. But others sustain with more probability, that 'twas for not dispatching *Domitian*, rather than to wait till he had done the same to him, and for leaving the Sovereign Power to such a Prince as we shall describe in the sequel of this

Work. *Titus* reign'd, as I have said,  
two Years, two Months, and twenty  
Days. He was call'd the Delight of  
Mankind.

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T H E  
**R E I G N**  
 O F T H E  
 E M P E R O R  
*D O M I T I A N.*

**D***OMITIAN* was bold and passionate, and at the same time Subtle and Treacherous. Thus having both the impetuosity of Anger, and the slowness of Dissimulation, he did mischief sometimes openly like Lightning, and sometimes by subtle Intrigues. He had a more particular Veneration for *Minerva*, than for any other Divinity, celebrated a Feast in her Honour with an extraordinary Magnificence, and



gave every year at his House at Mount *Alba*, Prizes for Poets, Orators, and Gladiators. He never lov'd any one sincerely, except perhaps a few Women. Yet he would seem to have a tender kindness for those, whose deaths he earnestly wish'd for. He was perfidious to those who did him the best Offices, and likewise to those who assisted him in the most troublesom and difficult Affairs, insomuch that he affected to ruine both those who had furnish'd him with very great sums of Money, and those who had prosecuted the greatest number of Accusations. Above all, he never pardon'd Slaves who had accus'd their Masters. Though he was all his Reign of this Humour, yet he surpass'd himself in his injurious manner of treating those who had been the friends of his Father and Brother. He had three motives to hate them. One was, because they had not granted him all he desir'd ; another was, because they had given him things which appear'd to him to be not altogether worthy of him, and the last was, because they were Men of Reputation. 'Twas by this Principle, that though he lov'd an Eunuch

nuch call'd *Earinus*, yet because his Brother *Titus* had also lov'd them heretofore, he exprefly forbid any to be made throughout the Empire, with a design to difhonour his Memory. He faid, that thofe Emperors who did not punifh abundance of Criminals were the happier, but not the better. He fometimes pretended to have lov'd his Brother extreamly, and to lament his Death, and as if he had been acting a borrow'd part upon the Stage, he fpoke in his Praise, and mingled tears with his Difcourfe. But that did not hinder him from obferving all his Reign, very different meafures from thofe his Brother had taken.

He abolifh'd thofe Sports which the *Romans* had been accustom'd to celebrate, upon the day of his Acceffion to the Empire. No body knew which was fafeft, whether to condole with him, or to congraculate him, and not offend him, and not to let him perceive, that the Artifice with which he endeavour'd to difguife his Sentiments, was eafily feen through. He design'd to have put *Domitia* his Wife to Death for Adultery, but by the advice of *Urfus*, he was  
fatis-

satisfied with putting her away. He kill'd a *Comedian* call'd *Paris* in the open Street upon her account, and several Persons having scatter'd Flowers and Perfumes over the place where he was kill'd, he order'd them all to be executed. He liv'd publickly with *Julia* his Brother's Daughter, after the same manner as a Husband lives with his Wife. He put to Death and banish'd several of the most considerable Men of the Empire, under various pretences. He spar'd not so much as the Vestals, and punish'd some of them, as if they had violated the chastity they profess'd. They who were suspected to be guilty of this Crime, having been pursued, and punish'd with extream Rigour, *Elvius Agrippa*, to whom these Inquisitions seem'd altogether insupportable, was strangled in the Senate, whither he had retir'd, as to a place of Safety.

*Domitian* having undertaken an Expedition into *Germany*, return'd to *Rome* without so much as having seen the Enemy. Is there any necessity of mentioning the Honours which were given him upon this occasion, as others had been given to some of his Predecessors,  
least

least he should have imagin'd that they despis'd him, and so have been incens'd against them? No body knew how to please him, for though he lov'd to be courted, he was equally offended with those who did, and those who did not flatter him, from a belief, that the first impos'd upon him by their complaisance, and that others despis'd him, because they did not commend him. He was blown up with such an extravagant Vanity, that he would be Consul ten years together, and *Censor* all his Life, though no Emperor, nor any other had ever continued in these Offices in such a manner. There always went before him four and twenty Officers, and he wore a Triumphal Robe when ever he went to the Senate. He gave his Name to the Month of *October*, because he was born in that Month. He instituted two new Companies of Charioteers, and call'd one the Golden Company, and the other that of Silver. He often gave Presents to the Spectators in little Bowls, and sometimes gave them a Feast in the very places from whence they saw the Sports and Combats, with a Fountain of  
Wine

Wine that ran all Night. These Diversions charm'd the People as much as they afflicted Persons of Condition whose ruine they often caus'd. For to furnish these prodigious Expences, he had recourse to Murder, accus'd innocent People to the Senate, and oftentimes in their absence. He likewise dispatch'd some by Poison.

The *Romans* were engag'd about this time in a great War against the *Dacians*, commanded by *Decebalus*. He was a Prince as proper for Counsel, as Execution. He equally knew how to make a vigorous Attack, and an honourable Retreat. He contriv'd an Ambuscade with Art, and made an excellent disposition of an Army. When he won a Victory, he made all possible advantage of it, and when he was overcome, he found means to repair his Losses. An Enemy that had so advantagious a share of these great Qualities, could not but prove a troublesom one to the *Roman* People. I call *Dacians*, those whom the *Romans* call so, and who call themselves so, though I know some *Greeks* call them *Getes*. I question whether it be with reason. For it is certain that the *Getes* dwell



dwell beyond the *Hemus* along the *Danube*.

*Domitian* led his Army against the People I have been speaking of, and gave the command of it to his Generals, because he was not himself expert in Arms. He could not bare Fatigue, and was besides of a fearful Nature, addicted to Women and Boys. He lost in this Expedition a great part of his Army, and yet sent to *Rome* a Relation full of expressions as haughty and insolent, as if he had got the Victory. He receiv'd likewise such extraordinary Honours, that there was hardly any Province of the Empire, that did not erect his Statues in Gold and Silver. He was at a great Expence to give the People Sports, in which we have not learnt that any thing remarkable pass'd, except that young Women ran at a Course.

After that he spent several days in publick Rejoycings for his imaginary Victory. He also gave in the *Circus* the Diversion of several Combats on Foot, and on Horseback. He gave in another place a Naval Fight, in which almost all the Combatants, and several of the Spectators died, by having been  
long

long expos'd to the violence of Winds and Rains, without being permitted to change their Cloaths, tho' *Domitian* did not fail to change his own. To comfort the People in some sort for the loss of so great a number of Citizens, he gave them a Feast at Night. He often took that time for his Combats, in which he forc'd young Maids and Wives to fight together. In this manner did he entertain the People. But his way of treating the most considerable Senators and Knights, was much more extraordinary. He order'd them to be brought one by one, without any of their Servants at Midnight, into a House whose Ceilings, Walls, and Floors were all cover'd with black. The Chairs and other Furniture were of the same colour. The first thing that was done after they were come in, was to present each of them with a Pillar, like those which are put upon Tombs, in which the name of every one was Ingrav'd, and in which also there was a Lamp like those which are us'd to hang up in Monuments. After that came in a company of little Boys, naked and black, and terrible to behold, who  
danc'd

danc'd about them a kind of Brawls, which had somewhat that was mournful and fatal in it, then stop'd, and stood still. Then they serv'd up to them in Dishes, all the Instruments and Ornaments that are us'd at Funerals, which put them into agonies of fear, and made them expect nothing but the hour of Death. The horror of the Silence and Discourses by turns, redoubled their Fear. They were as silent as if they were already in their Graves, and *Domitian* talk'd of nothing but Murders and Massacres. Yet he sent them back without further harm, by Persons unknown, some in Chariots, and others in Chairs, which gave them still more apprehension than ever. Scarce were they got home, and began to breath, when word was brought them that there was a Message from the Emperor. There was not one of them then, but gave himself up for lost. But instead of doing them any hurt, he sent each of them a Present, to one a Pillar of Silver, to another one of the Vessels that was us'd at Table during the Repast, or some other Gift. He likewise presented each of them with  
one

one of the Boys, whom they had seen dance all in black, but he was well wash'd and cloath'd. This was the pomp of *Domitian's* Triumph, or rather the Magnificence of the Obsequies that were perform'd to those that died either in the War against the *Dacians*, or at *Rome*.

This Prince put to death at the same time, some of the chief and most considerable of the Empire, and confiscated the Estate of a Citizen, for having buried one of those who had been executed upon his Ground.

I shall mention in this place what happen'd most remarkable in the War against the *Dacians*. *Julian* who had been honour'd with the command of the Army, acquitted himself of his Duty extreamly well, and in order to distinguish those who should behave themselves well, he order'd every Soldier to write his own Name, and that of his Centurion upon his Buckler. He gave Battel near to a place call'd *Tapes*, and cut in pieces a great number of the Enemies. *Vezinas* who held the first rank among them, next to *Decebalus*, not being able to fly, without running the  
risque

risque of being discover'd, lay down among the Slain, and having hid himself in that manner, found means afterwards to escape. *Decebalus* who was afraid the Conquerors would plunder his Palace, made use of a Stratagem to preserve it, ordering the Trees to be cut down around his Camp, and Arms to be plac'd upon the Trunks, that the *Romans* might take them for Soldiers, and so retire. Which Artifice succeeded to his expectation. *L. Antonius* Governor of *Germany*, having revolted against *Domitian* about this time, *L. Maximus* gave him battel and defeated him. But if he did not deserve great Commendations for this Victory, he deserv'd much greater than I can ever give him for his Generosity, in burning all the Papers of the conquer'd Party, lest they should serve as a ground for false Accusations, and fear'd not to expose his own Life, to save innocent People. But *Domitian* however put them to Death, without Information or Proof, and the number of those he oppress'd in this manner, was so great, that 'tis difficult to count them. A young Man, call'd *Julius Calvaster*, who had been a  
G
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Tribune in the Army, and had hopes to be a Senator one day, escap'd against all manner of appearance. He was convicted of having had several Conferences with *Antonius*, and it seem'd impossible for him to have escap'd, being condemn'd as an Accomplice of his Conspiracy, if he had not excus'd himself by saying, that he had never talk'd with him about any Affair of State, and that all the Conversation he had had with him, amounted to nothing but Gallantry, which was so much the more easily believ'd, as he appear'd very capable of inspiring Love. I shall omit mentioning several particular Events that fell out at this time, and only take notice of one that relates to *Lucian Proclus*. He was an ancient Senator, who spent the greatest part of the year in the Country, and yet was oblig'd to follow *Domitian*, when he undertook the War against the *Dacians*, lest if he had not, he should have been accus'd of quitting the Service at a time of the most urgent Necessity, and condemn'd to Death. But when he knew that the Emperor had won the Victory, he said to him, ' My Lord, The Gods have heard my  
Pray-

‘ Prayers, and you have conquer’d your  
 ‘ Enemies, therefore I intreat you to  
 ‘ permit me to return to my Country-  
 ‘ house. He obtain’d the liberty he beg’d,  
 ‘ and though he liv’d long after, he ne-  
 ‘ ver saw the Emperor.

There were People at this time who  
 us’d poison’d Needles, to dispatch those  
 whom they wanted to be rid of, and  
 kill’d them in this manner without their  
 perceiving it. Several of these Villains  
 were discover’d, and condemn’d not on-  
 ly at *Rome*, but almost throughout the  
 World.

*Ulpus Trajan*, and *Acilius Glabrio*  
 had Presages during their Consulship,  
 which threatned the last with Death,  
 and promis’d the other the Sovereign  
 Power. There was a Woman con-  
 demn’d and executed, for having un-  
 dress’d her self before a Statue of *Domi-  
 tian*. Among the great number of those  
 who were taken out of the World at  
 the same time, I must not forget to men-  
 tion *Metius Pomposian*. *Vespasian* had  
 always spar’d him, tho’ he had heard  
 of a wild and confus’d report that had  
 spread among the People, that he was  
 one day to ascend the Throne; instead

of doing him any hurt, he us'd him very civilly, and said, ' He will remember my good Offices, and acknowledge them. *Domitian* took a very different method with him. For having banish'd him formerly to a Island, he put him to Death at this time, tho' he was accus'd of no other Crime, than of having a Map of the Terrestrial Globe in his Closet, and having read carefully the Speeches of the Kings and other great Men, which *Titus Livius* has inserted in his History. He also condemn'd a *Sophist* nam'd *Maternus*, for having pronounc'd a Discourse against Tyrants, only to shew his Eloquence. *Domitian* was often with Evidences, and instructed them what to say. He likewise discours'd with those who were accus'd, being willing to inform himself of their Sentiments by himself, and not trusting to the report he might receive of them. But when he talk'd with them, he always took hold of their Chains, lest they should make use of them against him, in revenge for his Cruelties.

It must be confess'd, that he did not acquit himself ill of the quality of *Censor*.

for. He expell'd *Cecilius Rufinus* the Senate for Dancing. Having discover'd that *Claudius Pacatus* was a Slave, he restor'd him to his Master, tho' he had been a *Centurion*. What he did as Emperor, which I am going to mention, is very different. He put to Death *Rusticus Arulinus*, for addicting himself to Philosophy, and for admiring the virtue of *Thrasea*, whom he call'd a Divine Man. He us'd *Herennius Senecio* after the same manner, only because, after he had exercis'd the Office of *Questor*, he never stood for any other, tho' he had liv'd to a considerable Age, and because he had written the Life of *Elvidius Priscus*. Several others were executed for their love to Philosophy, and all those who made profession of it, were forc'd to leave *Rome*.

*Junius Celsus*, who had conspir'd against him with some of the chief Men in *Rome*, and had been accus'd, escap'd by a strange Artifice. When he was upon the point of being condemn'd, he desir'd to speak with the Emperor in private, and having obtain'd the favour, he threw himself at his Feet, call'd him several times his Lord and his God,

as some had already us'd to call him, and protested to him, that he was innocent of the Crime whereof he was accus'd, and if he would only suspend his Execution, he would do him great Services, and would discover a great number of Criminals, against whom he would bring invincible Proofs. Thus having obtain'd the suspension he desir'd, he accus'd no body, finding every day new pretences to gain time, till *Domitian* was Assassinated.

About this time the way was pav'd that leads from *Sinuessa* to *Puteoli*. The same year *Domitian* put to Death several Persons, and particularly *Flavius Clemens*, though he was his Relation, and had Married *Flavia Domitilla*, his Kinswoman. The pretext he made use of to condemn him was, that he and *Flavia* his Wife were guilty of Impiety, which was the same pretence he us'd to punish several Persons, who had embrac'd the Manners and Customs of the *Jews*; some were executed, others only dispossessed of their Estates. *Flavia Domitilla*, was banish'd into the Island of *Pandatera*. *Glabrio* who had been Colleague of *Trajan*, in the



the Consulship was charg'd with the same Crime, and further, with fighting wild Beasts in the *Amphitheatre*. *Domitian* who envied his Vertue, put him to Death under that pretence. The occasion of the Emperor's envy was this: Having invited him to the *Juvenalia* that were celebrated in his House at Mount *Alba*, that year he was Consul with *Trajan*, as I have said, he forc'd him to fight with a Lion of an extraordinary size, which he had prepar'd on purpose, and *Glabrio* without being surpriz'd kill'd the Lion, and receiv'd no hurt. The same vertue made him suspect several other Persons, insomuch that he trusted neither to his Freedmen, nor the *Præfecti Prætorio*, whom he made no difficulty of putting to Death, even in the time of their Magistracies. *Epaphroditus* *Nero's* Freedman, who had been formerly banish'd by his order, was at that time put to Death, though he could be charg'd with no Crime, except for not being able to save his Master from the violence of those who had conspir'd against him. He had a mind to make this terrible example in his Person, to frighten his own Freed-

men, and to hinder them from making any attempt upon his Life.

But these cruel Precautions were of no service to him, for the year following, which was the year of the Consulship of *Caius Valens*, (who had been chosen into this Office at the age of fourscore and ten, and who died in the exercise of it) and of *Caius Antistius*, he was taken out of the World by the conspiracy of *Parthenius*, tho' he had done him the honour to give him the privilege of wearing a Sword, of *Sigerius*, *Entellus* keeper of the Records of the Empire, and *Stephanus* his Freedman. 'Tis said that *Domitia* his Wife, *Norbanus Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Petro-nius* his Colleague, had knowledge of their Design. It is certain that for some time before *Domitian* had shewn his hatred for *Domitia*, and she was apprehensive, that he would cause her to be put to Death. They whom I have nam'd lov'd him as little, some because they were accus'd of Crimes, and others, because they expected to be charg'd soon after. I have heard that *Domitian* mistrusting them all, and designing to get rid of them, had written  
 their

their names in a Table-Book, which he had put under the Pillow of his Bed where he us'd to repose himself, and that a young Boy having taken it from thence while he was asleep, was met by *Domitia*, who having read the names, went immediately and told the rest what was contain'd in it. This advice oblig'd them to hasten their Enterprize, the execution whereof nevertheless they would not begin, till they were secure of a Successor to the Empire. Upon this occasion they conferr'd with several, but no body would accept of the Dignity they offer'd, because every body mistrusted the sincerity of the Offer, and was afraid 'twas a snare laid for their Destruction. At last they address'd themselves to *Nerva*, a Man of illustrious Birth, and a wonderful sweetness of Nature, and perswaded him with so much the more ease, because he had been rendred suspected by the false reports of the Judicial Astrologers. *Domitian* had caus'd the Horoscopes of all the Persons of Quality to be made, and had put some to Death, who had never entertain'd the least hope of coming to the Empire. He had also put

*Nerva*

*Nerva* to Death, if an Astrologer who was his friend, had not diverted him from it, by saying, that he had but little time to live according to the course of Nature.

None of these extraordinary Events ever fall out, without being foreseen. *Domitian* had notice in a Dream, of the misfortune that threatned him. He thought he saw *Rusticus* pressing upon him with his Sword in his Hand, that the Statue of *Minerva* which he had in his Chamber dropt her Arms, and that being in a Chariot drawn with black Hories, she descended into an Abyſs that was very large, and very deep. But nothing is so wonderful, as the prediction which *Largius Proculus* made publickly in *Germany*, of the day on which *Domitian* was to die. For being sent to *Rome* by the Governor on this occasion, he confirm'd what he had said before *Domitian*, and was condemn'd on the instant, but execution being delay'd, till the day he had foretold was past, *Domitian* was assassinated, and *Proculus* was sav'd and gratified by *Nerva* with a hundred thousand Drachma's. There was another who foretold in presence

sence of *Domitian*, the time and manner of his Death, and the Emperor demanding of him what kind of Death his own was to be, the Man answer'd, that he should be torn in pieces by Dogs. Upon which *Domitian* order'd him to be burnt alive. But tho' the Pile was prepar'd for him, and actually set on fire, there fell so prodigious a storm of Rain on the instant, that the fire was extinguish'd, insomuch that Dogs having found him bound to a Post, pull'd him in pieces. I can likewise bring another Event that was very particular, but I shall first give an account of the circumstances of *Domitian's* Death. As this Prince was rising from the Tribunal, and was ready to go and repose himself according to his Custom, *Parthenius* remov'd a Dagger from under his Pillow, lest he should make use of it to defend himself, and sent *Stephanus* the most robust of the Conspirators, who gave him a wound that still left him strength enough to grapple with, and throw him down that gave it. *Parthenius* fearing he would escape, entred, or as some say, sent *Maximus* his Freedman, with whom *Stephanus* and several others, who had had



had no intimation of the Plot, running in, *Domitian* receiv'd several wounds. That which appears to be more extraordinary than the rest, and which I reserv'd to mention in this place is, that on the very Day, nay, the Moment *Domitian* was assassinated, as 'twas afterwards known upon a very exact search into the matter, *Apollonius Thyaneus* got up, whether 'twas in the City of *Ephesus*, or elsewhere, upon a very high Stone, and calling the People together, cried out with a loud Voice, ' Courage, *Stephanus*, Courage, strike the Murderer. ' Thou hast struck him. Thou hast ' wounded him. Thou hast kill'd him. As incredible as this fact seems to be, it is no less true. *Domitian* liv'd four and forty Years, ten Months, and six and twenty Days. He reign'd fifteen years and five days. *Phillis* his Nurse was dexterous enough to steal his Body, in order to give it Burial.

THE

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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
NERVA.

**D**OMITIAN was no sooner dead, but *Nerva* was proclaim'd Emperor in *Rome*. The horror and execrations People had for the memory of his Predecessor, made him give order for the pulling down a great number of Gold and Silver Statues, with which he had been honour'd during his Life, and which amounted to great sums of Money. The Triumphal Arches which had been rais'd to him were also demolish'd. *Nerva* set at liberty all those

those who had been charg'd with Impiety, and recall'd those who were in Banishment. He condemn'd to Death all Slaves and Freedmen, who had laid snares for their Masters and Patrons, and forbid all those of that Condition, to bring any Charge whatsoever against their Masters. He would not even suffer any body to be accus'd, either for having observ'd the Ceremonies of the *Jewish* Religion, or neglected the Worship of the Gods. An infinite number of People had been put to Death upon false Accusations, and among the rest, a famous Philosopher call'd *Seras*. The allowance that had been given to private Informers, having extreamly disturb'd the publick Tranquility, *Fronton* the Consul said very wisely, ' That  
 ' if 'twas a Misfortune to have an Em-  
 ' peror under whom no allowance was  
 ' given to any one, 'twas a much great-  
 ' er Misfortune to have one under  
 ' whom every thing was permitted to  
 ' every body. And 'twas this that induc'd *Nerva* to silence Informers.

*Nerva* was grown so weak with Age and Sickness, that his Stomach could scarce keep any Nourishment. He expressly  
 forbade

forbad his Subjects to set up any Statue of him in Gold or Silver. He restor'd all the Money that he found in the publick Treasury, to those from whom *Domitian* had unjustly taken it. He assign'd Lands to the value of fifteen hundred thousand Drachmas, for the subsistence of poor Citizens, and nam'd Senators to distribute the Revenues of them accordingly. Finding that he wanted Money, he sold abundance of Goods, Habits, Vessels of Gold and Silver, as well of his own, as of those of the Palace. He likewise sold Houses and Lands, and parted with every thing but what was just necessary. And he was so far from exacting the just value of them, out of an Avarice unworthy of his Rank, that he parted with them at so low a rate, that it might be interpreted a favour to those that bought them. He abolish'd Sacrifices, Sports, and Shews, to avoid great Expences. He took an Oath in full Senate, that he would not put any Senator to Death, and kept it even to those who conspir'd against him. He never did any thing without first consulting that Body. He publish'd several

ral Laws, and among others, one by which he forbad the making of Eunuchs, and another against Marriages between Uncles and Nieces. He was not jealous of *Rufus Virginus*, and made no difficulty of taking him for his Colleague in the Consulship, though he had been several times call'd Emperor. There was an Inscription upon the Monument of this *Virginus*, to this effect, that having conquer'd *Vindex*, he had secur'd the possession of the Sovereign Power, not to himself, but to his Country. *Nerva* govern'd with so much Equity, that he said one day he had behav'd himself in such a manner, that he had nothing to fear, though he should be reduc'd to a private Condition. *Calpurnius Crassus* descended from the illustrious Family of that name, having conspir'd with some others against him, he gave directions that the Accomplices should be plac'd near him at the publick Shows, before they knew their Plot was discover'd, and sent them some Daggers to see if they were well pointed, which he did to shew them that he was not afraid of being assassinated upon the Spot. *Eliau Casperius*, Captain  
of



of his Guards, who had been in the same post under *Domitian*, made his Soldiers mutiny against him, by encouraging them to demand the Deaths of certain Persons. *Nerva* rejected their demand with so much Vigour, that he offer'd his own Throat to them, instead of those they wanted. But his resistance was of no use to him, for *Eliau* put all those to death whom he thought fit. When *Nerva* saw that his Age was so much despis'd, he went up to the *Capitol*, and said aloud, ' For the good of the Empire, of the *Roman* People, and my self, I adopt *Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajan*. After that he declar'd him *Cæsar* in the Senate, and as he was then at his command in *Germany*, he wrote to him with his own Hand in these terms :

*Employ your Weapons to revenge my Wrongs.*

Upon this occasion it fell out, that tho' *Nerva* had Relations of his own, *Trajan* was declar'd *Cæsar*, and afterwards Emperor. He prefer'd the interest of the State, before his love to his nearest Kinsmen, and being of opinion,

that one should rather judge of Men by the merit of their Vertue, than by the Rank of their Birth, he chose *Trajan* a *Spaniard* by Nation, to succeed him on the Throne, which till then, none had ever ascended that were not *Romans* or *Italians*. He died after he had reign'd a Year, four Months, and nine Days, and liv'd sixty five Years, ten Months, and ten Days.

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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*TRAJAN.*

**B**Efore *Trajan* came to the Empire he had a Dream, in which he thought he saw an old Man with a purple Robe and a Crown, that is to say, such a figure as the Senate was wont to be painted in, that set his Seal first to the left side of the Neck, and then to the right. As soon as he had the Sovereign Power in his Hands, he wrote to the Senate with his own Hand, that he would never put to Death, or disgrace an innocent Person, which he

afterwards confirm'd with an Oath. As for *Eliau* and the Soldiers of the Guards, who rais'd a Sedition in *Nerva's* Reign, he sent for them, as if he had design'd to make use of them, and when they were come, commanded them to be executed. He was no sooner entred into *Rome*, but he made excellent Laws for the reformation of Abuses, the government of the State, and in favour of Men of Vertue and Worth, of whom he took so particular a care, that he settled Funds in the Cities of *Italy* for the education of Youth. The first time that *Plotina* his Wife entred the Palace, she stop'd upon the Stairs, and turning towards the People, said, 'Tis my desire that 'I may go out from hence in the same disposition with which I come in: And she behav'd her self in such a manner, during the whole course of his Reign, that no body ever found fault with any of her Actions.

As for *Trajan*, he had not been long at *Rome*, when calling to mind the insolence with which the *Dacians* had taken up Arms, and considering on one side, that the Tribute they had impos'd upon the *Romans*, was insupportable, and

James Alexander

and on the other, that their pride increas'd every day in proportion to their Power, he resolv'd to make War upon them. As soon as *Decebalus* learnt the news of his march, he was possess'd with fear, knowing that whereas before he had conquer'd not the *Romans* but *Domitian*, he should now be oblig'd to fight with *Romans*, led by such an Emperor as *Trajan*. He was indeed a Prince equally admirable for the greatness of his Courage, his zeal for Justice, and the purity of his Manners. He took possession of the Sovereign Power at the Age of two and forty years, which was an Age wherein he enjoy'd a great vigour of Body and Mind, and in which he was equally remote from the violences of Youth, and the slowness of Age. He never persecuted out of Jealousie, nor ruin'd any one whatsoever. On the contrary, he constantly honour'd Men of Merit, and preferr'd them as much as was possible. As he hated no body, so he thought no body hated him, which made him live free from Jealousie and Fear. He did not listen to Calumnies, nor give himself up to Passion. He was as far from taking what belong'd to his



Subjects, as he was from taking away their Lives. He was at great expences in time of Peace, and in time of War, but he made them very useful to the publick in repairing the Ways, fortifying Ports, and adorning the City with new Buildings, but no Man's Blood ever contributed to these Works. He shew'd in all his Enterprizes a Magnanimity, and a Magnificence so extraordinary, that having rais'd the *Circus* from the ruines in which it was faln, and made it larger and finer than ever it had been, he put an Inscription upon it to this effect, that he had rebuilt it in this manner, that it might be able to contain all the *Roman* People. He desir'd rather to be belov'd, than honour'd by his Subjects. He discours'd familiarly with the People, and treated the Senate very civilly. In fine, he was universally belov'd, and only fear'd by the Enemies of the Empire. He went a Hunting with the Citizens, and to their Entertainments, shar'd in their Diversions, as well as in their serious Affairs, and sometimes rallied with them, took three of them at a time to his Table, and went pretty often without Guards to the Houses

ses of private Men. He was not Learnd, and had never studied much; but yet he could make a very good judgment of Things, and argue with as much good Sense, as those who have the assistance of Books. In a word, he had excellent Qualities. I know that he lov'd Wine and Boys, and that he would have deserv'd blame for these faults, if they had engag'd him to do or suffer any thing that was contrary to Decency or Justice. But he was of such a constitution to bear Wine, that even when he drank to Excess, he did not seem to have exceeded the bounds which Sobriety prescribes. And as to the passion he had for Boys, it produc'd no ill effects. Though he had an Inclination to Arms, he moderated so well the heat of his Courage, that when he humbled his Enemies, he acquir'd new Friends.

He led his Troops with such a wonderful Prudence, that they were never seen to mutiny, and there is no doubt, but so many many rare advantages made him appear formidable to *Decebalus*. As he was marching against the *Dacians*, and was already pretty near their Camp,

a great Mushroom was brought to him, in which was written in Latin, that the *Barrhi* and other Confederates intreated him to retire and make Peace. Nevertheless he gave Battel, and cut in pieces a great number of his Enemies, but had at the same time the displeasure to see many of his own wounded. 'Tis said, that when their Bandages fail'd, he order'd his own Linnen to be cut for their use. He rais'd an Altar to the memory of those who died in the Battel, and order'd Funeral Honours to be paid them every year. This done, he march'd from Hill to Hill, and after having escap'd several Dangers, arriv'd at the principal City of the *Dacians*, who being attack'd at the same time by *Lusius* in another place, lost a great number of their Men. This loss oblig'd *Decebalus* to depute to *Trajan* some of the chief Men of the Country who wore Caps, and to beg Peace. *Trajan* commanded them to deliver their Arms, their Machines, and the Workmen that made them; to put into his Hands the Deserters from his Army, to demolish the Forts they had built, to give up the Countries they had seiz'd, and to enter

ter into an offensive and defensive League with the *Romans*. *Decebalus* being brought to *Trajan*, subscrib'd to these conditions against his will, and prostrated himself at his Feet, as 'twere to adore him.

*Trajan* being return'd to *Rome*, the Deputies of *Decebalus* were introduc'd into the Senate, where they laid down their Arms, joyn'd their Hands after the manner of Prisoners, pronounc'd a few words to assure them of their Submission, ratified the Peace, and took their Arms again. After that *Trajan* enjoy'd the honour of the Triumph he had deserv'd, and was firnam'd *Dacicus*. He restor'd to the Theatre the Gladiators and Dancers, among which there was one call'd *Pilades*, for whom he had an extream passion. Though he had naturally a very strong inclination to War, yet he did not neglect other Affairs, and did not fail to take cognisance of the differences of private Men, and to distribute Justice sometimes in the publick place of *Augustus*, sometimes in *Livia's* Galery, and sometimes in other places. In the mean time he receiv'd advice, that *Decebalus* had broke several  
Arti-

Articles of the Treaty of Peace, that he provided himself with Arms, that he receiv'd Deserters from the *Roman* Army, that he fortified his Places, that he solicited his Neighbours to enter into his Alliance, that he plunder'd the Territories of those who had refus'd to engage in his Interest, and that he had seiz'd upon some of the Lands of the *Jazygians*, which *Trajan* refus'd afterwards to restore to them, when they reclaim'd them of him.

These Infractions dispos'd the Senate to declare him a second time the Enemy of the *Roman* People, and the Emperor to make War against him in Person, instead of committing it to his Generals. *Decebalus* being inferiour in force to *Trajan*, had recourse to Stratagems, and was very near destroying him by the treachery of some Deserters, whom he had sent into *Mæsia* to assassinate him. This cowardly design appear'd so much the easier to execute, as *Trajan* was of easier access in time of War, than at any other. But they durst not attempt it, because one of their Comrades being taken up upon Suspicion, had been put to the question,  
and



and confess'd all he knew. *Decebalus* likewise us'd an Artifice to draw *Longinus*, one of the Commanders of the *Roman* Army into his Camp, and press'd him openly to discover to him the designs of the Emperor. Being able to get nothing from him, he put him in Prison, and wrote to *Trajan*, offering to set him at Liberty, and demanding Peace. *Trajan* sent him an Answer conceiv'd in such terms, that if it did not imply any contempt for *Longinus*, neither did it argue too great an esteem for him, and sufficiently shew'd, that though he did not wish to lose him, he was not resolv'd to buy his preservation at too dear a rate. While *Decebalus*, who did not succeed in this design, was concerting others in his Head, *Longinus* took some Poison, and procur'd his own Death.

*Trajan* at the same time built a Stone-bridge over the *Danube*. Though he had undertaken abundance of other Works that were very Magnificent, none of them equall'd this, or shew'd so much the greatness of his Mind, and firmness of Resolution. It was supported with twenty Piles made of Free-stone, one hun-

hundred and fifty foot high, without reckoning the Foundations, sixty foot wide, one hundred and seventy foot distant from each other, and joyn'd together by Arches. Tho' there is reason to be amaz'd at the greatness of the expence, which was made to finish so wonderful an Edifice, there is reason to admire yet more the Art and Dexterity of the Workmen, that could build in the midst of a River so full of Mud and deep Holes, especially since they could find no way of turning the course of the Water. The place where the Bridge was rais'd, was the most commodious and narrow part of the River, for in other places the River is twice or thrice as broad. Its course being as it were pent up in that place, was much more rapid, which made the Building of the Bridge more difficult, and extreamly rais'd the greatness of the Enterprize, and the generosity of the Emperor, who had the glory of accomplishing the Work. Yet is it of no use, since there is no passage over it, and its Piles seem only to be rais'd as Monuments, to shew that there is nothing which Human Industry cannot bring

bring to Perfection. *Trajan* built it with this design, that when the *Danube* should be frozen, the *Romans* might not be expos'd to the violence of their Enemies, and be destitute of Succour. But *Adrian* since demolish'd the top of it, lest the *Barbarians* should force those who guarded it, and make an Irruption into *Mæsia*. *Trajan* having thus finish'd the Bridge, and pass'd the *Danube*, made War with more Prudence and Safety, than Heat and Alacrity. But at length he reduc'd the *Dacians* under his power by his extraordinary Valour, which was seconded by that of his Soldiers. Among those who ran through the greatest dangers, and signaliz'd themselves for his Service, was a Cavalier, who having been wounded in the Fight, was carried off to be dress'd, and when he understood that his wound was Mortal, he had strength and courage enough to return against his Enemies, and to do some gallant Actions before he died. When *Decebalus* saw that his Country and Palace were already in the power of the Conquerors, and that he ran a risque of falling alive into their Hands, he kill'd himself, after which his Head

was

was carried to *Rome*. *Trajan* having thus reduc'd *Dacia* to his Obedience, founded Cities there. The Treasures of the vanquish'd Prince consisting in Gold, Silver, Jewels, and other precious Furniture, were discover'd by one of his most intimate Friends call'd *Bisilis*, a Prisoner of War, and found in Caverns made for the purpose along the Palace, under the current of the River *Sargetia*, whose course had been turn'd by Slaves for this design. There were also very rich Habits found under ground, in Holes that were dug by the same Slaves, whom *Decebalus* had the cruelty to Massacre on the instant, lest they should betray his Secret.

*Palma* Governor of *Syria*, reduc'd at the same time under the Dominion of the *Romans*, that part of *Arabia*, which is call'd *Petra*, from its capital City. As soon as *Trajan* was return'd to *Rome*, he gave Audience to Embassadors of several Nations, and among the rest, to those of the *Indians*. After that he gave for one hundred and three and twenty days successively, publick Shows, in which some days were kill'd a thousand Beasts, other days to the number  
of

of ten thousand, and in which ten thousand Gladiators fought against one another. He made at the same time, Roads, Causeways, Ports and Buildings upon the *Palus Ponti*, and cried down all the Money that wanted of its just value. He perform'd Funeral Honours to *Licinius Sura*, who died about the same time, and erected a Statue to his Memory. This *Sura* had acquir'd such immense Riches, that he had built at his own charge, a Place for the publick Exercises. *Trajan* had put so great a confidence in his Friend, that tho' some envious Persons us'd their utmost power to make him mistrust the Sincerity of it, he went and supp'd at his House without Invitation, sent away his Guards, and desir'd *Sura's* Physitian to look upon his Eyes. Then he was shav'd by his Barber, according to the ancient custom which private Men and Emperors had to be shav'd, *Adrian* being the first who suffer'd his Beard to grow. After that he bath'd and supp'd, and the next day said to those who were us'd to give him ill impressions of *Sura*, if he had ever design'd to assassinate me, he had done it last Night.

It



It was doubtless the effect of an uncommon generosity in this Emperor, to be willing to prove in this manner the Fidelity of a Friend accus'd of Treachery, and to dare thus to trust him with his Person, and to be assur'd of his Friendship. One day as he was putting a Captain of his Guards in possession of his Post, and giving him the Sword according to Custom, he said to him presenting it naked, 'Take this Sword and use it for me, if I govern with Justice, and against me if otherwise. He erected Statues in honour of *Sofius*, *Palma*, and *Celsus*, for whom he had a more particular Affection and Esteem, than for any other. He prosecuted some before the Senate, who had conspir'd against him, and among others *Crassus*, and obtain'd their Condemnation. He built Libraries, and erected in the place that bears his Name a vast Pillar, as well to serve him as a Monument for his Bones, as to be one of his Magnificence to Posterity. In good earnest 'twas a piece of work that could not be finish'd without an extraordinary Expence, because it was necessary to cut thro' a Mountain as high as the Pillar, and level

level the publick place. After that he took up Arms against the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, under pretence that the King of *Armenia* instead of receiving the Crown from his Hand, had receiv'd it from the King of the *Parthians*. But he had indeed no other Motive, than that of Ambition. He was no sooner in the Enemies Country, but several Noblemen and Princes came to meet him with Presents, among which there was a Horse which had been taught to Salute, by kneeling upon his Fore-feet, and bowing his Head to the very feet of him he saluted.

*Trajan* having possess'd himself of the Country without fighting, advanc'd as far as *Satala*, and *Elegia*, Cities of *Armenia*, paid great Honours to the King of the *Heniochs*, reveng'd himself of *Parthamasirus* King of *Armenia*, put into the rank of his Friends, those Princes who submitted to him, and took others Prisoners without any Battel. The Senate gave him great Honours, and among the rest the surname of *Excellent*. He always march'd on foot at the head of his Army, leading and ordering them several ways. He pass'd the Rivers just as the

Soldiers did, sometimes spread false Alarms among them, in order to accustom them to obey his Orders with Expedition, and to fear nothing on the most unexpected occasions. When he had taken several Cities, he was surnam'd *Parthicus*, but this surname which only recommended his Military Virtue, was less valuable to him, than that of Excellent, which denoted the sweetness of his Nature, and the purity of his Manners.

While he was at *Antioch* there happen'd an Earthquake, by which several Cities were damag'd, and that more than any other. Among the Soldiers, and private Men that were come thither from all parts, whether by way of Business, or Curiosity, there was not one that did not sustain some loss, so that the whole *Roman* Empire seem'd to be inclos'd in this City, in order to feel the fatal effects of this deplorable Accident. It was preceded by Thunder and Lightning, but no body imagin'd they would be attended with such a consequence. At first there was heard a kind of a bellowing noise, then the Earth heav'd up, and the Houses that  
were

were upon it shook. There was a dreadful noise occasion'd by the clash of Stones, Bricks and Tiles, which were rent from their places. The Air was fill'd with so thick a Dust, that People could not see one another. Several were rais'd into the Air, and toss'd out of their Houses. Some were crippled, others kill'd. The violence of the Shock was so extream, that Trees were torn up by the Roots. The number of those who were surpriz'd in their Houses, and crush'd under the Ruines, is not to be computed. There were some that were oppress'd by the fall of others, and some that were in a manner buried in the Earth. Some were in a most deplorable condition, engag'd under a confus'd heap of Ruines, where they could neither live nor die. Among so great a number, there were several who escap'd. But there was also a great number wounded, some in the Thighs, others in the Shoulders, and others in the Head. Some vomited their Blood, and among others *Pedo* the Consul, who died of it. In a word, there was no ill accident that the violence of this Misfortune was not attended with. As

it continued several Days and Nights, no body knew what remedy to apply to it. Some were oppress'd under the Ruines, and others who got into hollow places, as under Vaults, died with Famine. When the Earthquake ceas'd, there was a Man who had the boldness to get upon the top of the Ruines, where he found a Woman with a Child, which she had nourish'd with her Milk, and her self likewise. Then they search'd for the Dead, among which there was a Child found that just breath'd, and clung to his Mother's Breast, who had just expir'd. The grief which those felt, who drew the dead Bodies out of the Ruines was so extreme, that they lost all sense of joy for the preservation of their own Lives. *Trajan* escap'd out of a Window, under the conduct of a Man that was of a higher Stature than ordinary. He was seiz'd with so great an Astonishment, that he continued in the *Circus* several days after the Earthquake ceas'd. Mount *Corasus* shook to that degree, that it perfectly bow'd, and seem'd just ready to fall upon the City. There were other Mountains also that bow'd their Heads. Water appear'd  
in



in places where none had ever been seen, and other places were dry that had always receiv'd Water.

In the beginning of the Spring *Trajan* entred into the Enemies Country, and because the Country which is about the *Tigris*, produces no Wood that is proper for building Vessels, he convey'd some on Carriages, which he had made in the Forests near *Nisibis*, the Conveyance was so much the easier, because the Carriages could be taken to pieces. When he was come to the River, he laid a Bridge of Boats upon it over against Mount *Cardin*, in spite of the Enemies efforts to hinder him. For he had so prodigious a number of Boats and Soldiers, that at the same time were seen Vessels preparing, and others ready equipp'd and full of Soldiers, covering the surface of the River. The *Barbarians* astonish'd at so unexpected a sight, as was that of so many Boats and Barks in a Country that bears no Wood proper to build them with, turn'd their Backs, and left the passages of the River free to the *Romans*, who had no sooner reach'd the other side, but they made themselves Masters of *Adiabena*,

which makes part of *Assyria*, and formerly depended upon *Ninus*. They also possess'd themselves of *Gaugamela* and *Arbella*, where *Alexander* conquer'd *Darius*. These are two places of the same Country, which the Inhabitants call *At-tiria* by corruption, and by a change of an S into a T. The *Romans* finding no Enemies that were in a condition to resist them, the Forces of the *Parthians* being extreamly diminish'd by their Divisions, they advanc'd as far as *Babylon*, where the Emperor view'd the Lake of Sulphur, which had been made use of in the building of the Walls of that stately City. The force of this Sulphur is so great, when it is mix'd with Bricks, or small Stones, that it makes them harder than Marble, or Iron. This Prince likewise view'd the mouth of the Lake, from whence there arises so dangerous a Vapour, that those Animals that smell it, are instantly choak'd. If this vapour rose higher, or spread further than it doth, it would make the Country altogether uninhabitable. But it always keeps within bounds. I have seen one like it at *Hierapolis*, a City of *Asia*, have try'd it upon Birds, and have

have stoop'd to see how it descends into a Cavern, over which a Theatre is built. This Vapour is mortal to all Animals except Eunuchs. I own 'tis a difference, whose cause I can by no means penetrate into. But I am satisfied with writing what I have seen and heard.

*Trajan* had resolv'd to make the *Euphrates* descend into the *Tygris* by a Canal, in order to convey his Boats thither, of which he would have made a Bridge. But he quitted his Resolution, when he came to understand that the *Euphrates* was higher than the *Tygris*, and that there was danger of its growing dry, by making so great a descent of its water as would be necessary. Thus he order'd his Boats to be carry'd over the small space of Land that separates those two Rivers, pass'd the *Tygris*, and entred into the City of *Ctesiphon*. By the taking of this City he was again proclaim'd Emperor, and surnam'd *Parthicus*. He receiv'd besides several Honours from the Senate, and among the rest, that of a Triumph attended with Feasts and publick Rejoycings, which might continue as long as he thought fit.

After the Emperor had reduc'd the City of *Ctesiphon*, as I have said, he undertook to pass the Red Sea, which is a Gulph of the Ocean, and was so call'd from the Name of a King, who formerly commanded the Country round about. After that he reduc'd easily an Island of the *Tygris*, call'd the Isle of *Messena*, in which *Atambilus* reign'd; but the rigour of the Winter, the rapidity of the *Tygris*, and the reflux of the Sea, made him run extream dangers in the midst of his Victories. He was receiv'd with Civility and Respect, by the Inhabitants of a place call'd the Fortrefs of *Spasin*, which was in the Dominions of *Atambilus*. Afterwards he advanc'd to the very Banks of the *Ocean*, which he view'd very attentively, and seeing a Ship just ready to Sail for the *Indies*, he said that he would have made the Voyage himself if he had been younger. He inform'd himself very exactly of the Affairs of that Nation, and said, that he thought *Alexander* had been very happy, in carrying his Arms so far. He added nevertheless, that he had extended his Conquests further, and wrote so to the Senate, though his Conquests were

were unprofitable, because he could not keep them. The Senate gave him upon this occasion great Honours, and among others, that of triumphing over as many Nations as he pleas'd. That which hindred the Senate from naming them in particular was, that they had no knowledge of them.

Among the Decrees they made to perpetuate the memory of his Victories, they set up a Triumphal Arch in the publick place that bears his Name. The Citizens prepar'd to meet him at a great distance, but he never saw *Rome* again, and could not finish his Enterprizes by a Success answerable to the beginning. As he was visiting *Asia*, and was even out at Sea, he receiv'd news of the Revolt of those People whom he had subdued, and of the Massacring of the Garrisons he had left in their Country. He made this Voyage only out of Curiosity, and a desire to see if the reports which ran of those parts, had not been impos'd upon him. But he found nothing that answer'd his Expectation. There was nothing but Fables and Ruines. He was drawn thither by the Reputation of *Alexander*,



*alexander*, to whom he perform'd Funeral Honours in the very place where he died. As soon as he receiv'd news of this Revolt, he sent *Lusius* and *Maximus* against the Rebels. The last was overcome and kill'd; the other behav'd himself like a Man of Courage, retook *Nisibis*, forc'd *Edeffa*, and put all to Fire and Sword. *Erutius Clarus*, and *Julius Alexander* his Lieutenants, took *Seleucia*, and burnt it. *Trajan* resolv'd to give the *Parthians* a King, lest they should have a fancy to revolt like the rest. In order to this, as soon as he arriv'd at *Ctesiphon*, he summon'd the *Parthians* and *Romans* upon a flat Plain, mounted upon a high place, related his Military Expeditions, declar'd *Parthamaspates* King, and set the Crown upon his Head. After that he entred into *Arabia*, and turn'd his Arms against the *Atrenians*, who had also shaken off the yoke of Subjection.

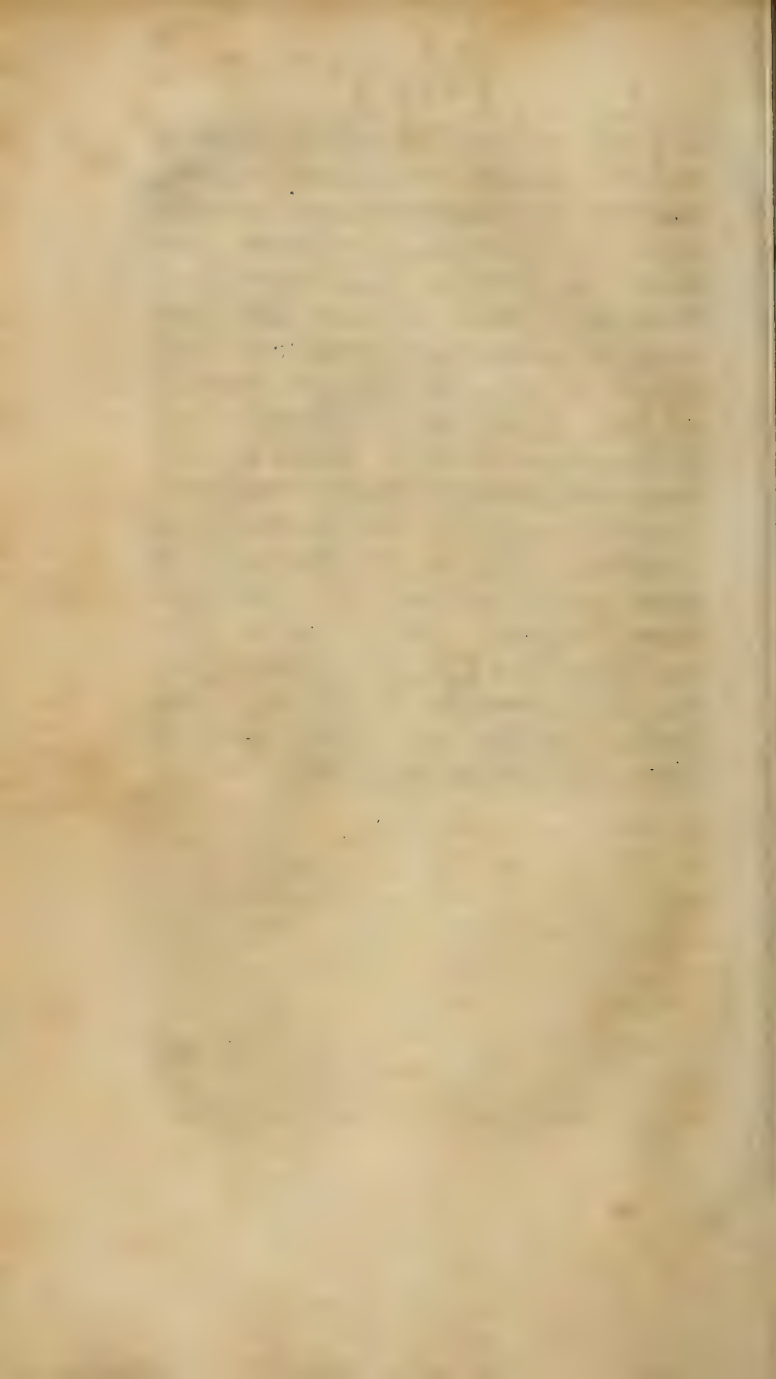
The City which they inhabited, was not considerable either in Bigness, or Riches. The Country about it is almost a Desert, because there is but little Water, and that little not very good. Besides there is great scarcity of Wood  
and

and Provisions for Life, for which reason no Army can subsist there long. Add to that the excessive Heats, which are sufficient of themselves to put a stop to the incursions of Strangers. Thus could neither *Trajan* take it then, nor *Severus* since, though they had beat down part of the Wall. *Trajan* order'd it to be assaulted immediately by some Troops of Horse, who return'd to the Camp with great loss. Then he went in Person, having put off his Imperial Robes, for fear of being discover'd. But he was perceiv'd notwithstanding by the whiteness of his Hair, and the Majesty of his Countenance, which made the *Barbarians* shower their Darts at him, with which they kill'd a Horseman just by him. At the same time the Thunder grumbled in the Clouds, and a Rainbow appear'd. When the *Romans* were ready to give the Assault, they were stop'd by Lightnings, Whirlwinds, Hail and Thunder. When they were taking their Repasts, they were extreamly incommoded by nasty Flies that fell into their Dishes and Cups. *Trajan* was no sooner retir'd from before this place, but he fell sick.

In

In the mean time the *Jews* who inhabited *Cirene*, having chosen a Captain call'd *Andrew*, cut the *Romans* and *Greeks* in pieces, eat their very Flesh and Intrails, bath'd themselves with their Blood, and wore their Skins. They clove several in the middle, expos'd others to Beasts, and compell'd some of them to fight as Gladiators, so that they destroy'd in this manner to the number of two hundred and twenty thousand. They revolted in the same manner in *Egypt*, and in *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Artemion*, where two hundred and forty thousand Men perish'd. This is the reason why the *Jews* were forbid to set a foot in *Cyprus*, and if one of them was driven a-shoar there by the Wind, he was immediately executed. This Nation was subdued by the Generals of *Trajan*, and principally by *Lusius*. The Emperor was about to turn his Arms a second time against *Mesopotamia*, when his Distemper increas'd, and oblig'd him to return towards *Italy*, and to leave *Elius Adrian* in *Syria* to command his Army. All the toils and fatigues which the *Romans* had undergone, and all the dangers they had

had run for the Conquest of *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia* were render'd useless, through the inconstancy and mutability of the *Parthians*, who having conceiv'd an aversion for *Partamaspates* their King, refus'd to obey him, and took the Government upon themselves. *Trajan* thought his Distemper proceeded from Poison, others imputed it to a suppression of Blood, which he had been accusom'd to discharge every year. It is certain that he was struck with an Apoplexy, that he had the Palsie in some part of his Body, and that he became Dropsical. As soon as he came to *Selinontis*, a City of *Cilicia*, which we call *Trajanopolis*, he died there suddenly, after he had reign'd nineteen Years, six Months and a half.





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R E I G N  
O F T H E  
E M P E R O R  
A D R I A N.

**A** D R I A N was never adopted by *Trajan*, tho' he was of the same City with him, and had been his Ward. He was afterwards allied to him by Marrying his Niece, had been very assiduous to serve him, and had receiv'd from him the command of the Troops of *Syria*, while he himself made War upon the *Parthians*. But he had never obtain'd any other Dignity that was considerable, having never been Consul.

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At length *Trajan* dying without Children, *Attian* who was of the same City with *Adrian*, and had been one of his Guardians, and *Plotina* who had a kindness for him, declar'd him Emperor in consideration of his being near at hand, and his commanding a great Army. *Apronianus* my Father, Governor of *Cilicia*, who was extreamly well inform'd of the Affairs of *Adrian*, has related to me the Circumstances of his coming to the Empire, and told me among other things, that for some days the Death of *Trajan* was kept secret, in order to manage the Adoption of *Adrian*, and that the Letter which was written to the Senate in the name of *Trajan*, was subscrib'd not by him but *Plotina*, which was a new practice, of which there had been no Example. *Adrian* was at *Antioch* the Metropolis of *Syria*, where he commanded the Army, when he was design'd Emperor. The day before he had a Dream, in which he thought he saw, at a time when the Air was calm, and the Heavens serene, a fire fall upon the left side of his Nick, and extend it self to the right side, without putting him in fear, or doing him any

any hurt. He wrote to the Senate to desire them to approve his Election, and to assure them, that he would receive no Honour without their consent. The Bones of *Trajan* were put into the Pillar we have mention'd, and to reverence his Memory, they celebrated Sports for several years, which were call'd *Parthica*. But they have been since abolish'd, as well as abundance of other Ceremonies. Though the Government of *Adrian* was moderate, yet was it exclaim'd against for the Murder of some Persons of Probity, who were sent out of the World both in the beginning and end of his Reign. These cruel Actions had like to have excluded him from the number of the Gods.

In the beginning of his Reign he commanded *Palma*, *Celsus*, *Nigrian*, and *Lusius* to be put to Death, upon a pretence, that they had laid an Ambush for him as he was Hunting. He put others to Death for other Reasons, such as those of Power or Wealth. When he understood what complaints were made for the Deaths of these People, he endeavour'd to vindicate himself by denying that he had given any orders for

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them.

them. Those who were put to Death towards the end of his Reign, were *Severian* and *Fuscus*. As to his Birth and Family, he was the Son of *Adrian Afer*. He had a Genius for Letters, and was well vers'd in the best *Greek* and *Latin* Authors. He has left some few Treatises in Prose, and a great number in Verse. His insatiable desire of Glory, gave him a curiosity for the most minute things. He learnt Sculpture, and Painting, and addicted himself to all Exercises that were suitable to War or Peace, and was ignorant of nothing that either a private Man or a Sovereign ought to know. The desire he had to excel in every thing, and to surpass all others, was the cause of his destroying Men of very great Merit. 'Twas from this Motive that he endeavour'd to get rid of *Favorinus* the *Gaul*, and *Dionysius* the *Milesian*. 'Tis reported, that this *Dionysius* had said to *Heliodorus*, *Adrian's* Secretary, that the Emperor might give him Wealth and Honour, but could not give him Eloquence. For *Favorinus*, as he was ready to plead a cause before *Adrian*, that related to an Exemption which he desir'd to obtain in his Country,

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try, and which he was apprehensive of losing, he approach'd the Tribunal, and only said, that his Master had appear'd to him in his Sleep, and had order'd him to serve the Country, to which he ow'd his Birth. What envy and hatred soever *Adrian* had conceiv'd against these two Men, he was oblig'd to spare them, for want of a specious pretence to destroy them. He us'd with more rigour *Apollodorus* the Architect, whom *Trajan* had employ'd upon several occasions; for not being satisfi'd with sending him into Exile, he condemn'd him to Death upon a pretence that he had committed some Crimes, but indeed, because as *Adrian* was shewing once some design of Architecture, and talk'd ignorantly of it, he took the liberty to say to him, 'Go and paint Pumpkins, for you understand nothing of this. It seems *Adrian* us'd to paint such trifles at that time, and had an opinion of his own performance in that way. He remembred this biting answer when he came to the Empire, and sent him the Plan of the Temple of *Venus* which he had rais'd, to let him see that great Works could



be done without his Assistance, and desir'd to know if he could find any fault with the design. ' *Apollodorus* sent him word, that the Temple was neither high enough, nor large enough; that for want of height, it did not appear enough from the *Via Sacra*, and for want of bigness, it was not easie to convey the Machines from thence, and to shew them on the Theatre. He added, that the Statues were too large, and not proportion'd to the height of the Temple, because if the Goddesses should have a mind to rise, the Roof would hinder them. The liberty of this answer rais'd in *Adrian's* Heart so cutting a Displeasure, and so implacable an Anger, that he put to Death this able Architect. 'Twas by an effect of the same humour, that he had a mind to suppress the Works of *Homer*, and to put those of *Antimachus* in their place, of whom several never heard so much as the Name. He was blameable without doubt for all these things, as well as for the excess of his Curiosity, the vanity of his Occupations, and the inequality of his Manners. Nevertheless it must be avow'd, that his faults were  
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in some sort compensated by excellent Qualities: By his Vigilance, his Foresight, his Magnificence, his Application, and his Address. Add to this, that he was so great a lover of Peace, that he never rais'd any War, and compos'd such as he found the Empire engag'd in. Further, he never depriv'd any Man of his Estate, and was an extraordinary Benefactor to Communities, and private Persons, Knights and Senators. He did not stay to be ask'd, he prevented Necessities and Requeils. He maintain'd a severe Discipline among the Soldiers, and suffer'd them not to abuse their Strength either in disobeying their Generals, or oppressing the Weak. There is not a City through the whole extent of the Empire, or in the Dominions of our Allies, in which he has not left marks of his Magnificence. He visited a greater number of them, than any other Emperor, and they were all the better for him. He supplied some with Water, others with Ports. To this he gave Corn, or Money. In that he built stately Edifices, and he honour'd others with Franchises and Priviledges. He govern'd the *Roman* People with a Mod-

jestick Severity, without ever condescending to flatter their Passions. As they were one day very importunate with him in the midst of the publick Shows, to grant them some Request, he not only rejected it, but commanded the Herald to silence them with those words which *Domitian* had formerly us'd, *Tacete*; the Herald did not use that word to the People, but holding out his Hand according to Custom, he made them be silent, and when he saw they were still, he said to them, ' This is what the Emperor would have. *Adrian* was so far from taking it ill, that the Herald had forbore to use so harsh a word, though he had commanded him to do it, that he was pleas'd with him for it. For he willingly suffer'd Persons of the lowest Condition to do him such good Offices, by opposing his Intentions in appearance. A Woman one day presenting her self to him in the Street, and desiring Audience of him, he answer'd her immediately, that he had not time to hear her. The Woman rais'd her Voice, and replied to him, Be no longer Emperor then: Upon which he turn'd back, and gave her Audience.

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He did nothing of Moment, without advising with the Senate, sat often in the Courts of Justice, in the place of Harangues, in the *Pantheon*, and other places with some of the chief of that Body, so that what they had determin'd, was made publick on the instant. He likewise heard Causes sometimes with the Consuls, and shew'd them such respect at the publick Sports, that he accompanied them back to their Houses. He was wont to be carried in a close Chair, to avoid the troublesom Acclamations of the People. Upon the days of publick Rejoycings he staid in the Palace, and saw no body, not even his most intimate Friends, without any urgent necessity. He was always attended, whether within or out of *Rome* by the principal Persons of the Empire, who sat at Table with him, where there were usually four Covers. He went a Hunting upon occasion, drank no Wine at Dinner, supp'd with the great Men of the Empire, talking familiarly and pleasantly with them during the repast. He visited his Friends when they were Sick, was present at their Entertainments, and diverted himself with them at their Houses.

ses of Pleasure. He set up some of their Statues in the publick place during their Lives, others after they were dead. Nevertheless there was not one of them that durst abuse his friendship, in wronging any one whatsoever, or selling his Favours and Good-turns, as the Favourites of former Emperors had done. Thus have I given a sketch of the Manners of *Adrian*. I shall now relate his most considerable Actions. As soon as he entred *Rome*, he releas'd all that was due from private Men for sixteen years together, both to the private Treasury of the Emperor, and to the publick one of the *Roman* People. He gave Sports and Shows to the People gratis, upon the day he was proclaim'd, and there was kill'd at one time for the publick Diversion, a hundred Lions, and a hundred Lionesses. He threw apart to the Men and Women in the Theatre and *Circus* little Bowls, in which were inclos'd Notes, that contain'd divers Presents. He also made an Order, that Men and Women for the future should bath in separate Baths.

The same year a Philosopher nam'd *Euphrates*, had recourse to a voluntary  
Death



Death with *Adrian's* permission, to free himself from the inconveniences of Diseases and Age. The Emperor visited several Provinces and Cities, altering the Walls and Citadels of some of them. He took cognizance of all that related to the Army, Arms, Machines, Ditches and Ramparts. He enquir'd into the conduct of Officers and Soldiers, their Exercises, and particular Manners. He reform'd Abuses, pull'd down Buildings that were ready to fall, and erected others. He accusom'd the Soldiers to their Exercises, encourag'd those that did well, reprov'd others, and shew'd them all their Duty. There was not one that durst excuse himself from it, when he saw the severity of Discipline which he impos'd upon himself. He made his Journeys either on Foot, or on Horseback. He never cover'd his Head, either in regard to Heat or Cold, but was bare as well under the Snows of *Gaul*, as the Heats of *Egypt*. To say all in a few words, he establish'd during the whole course of his Reign by his Precepts and Example, so exact a Discipline in the Army, that to this day it is observ'd, as a kind of a Law. In  
time

time of Peace he commonly resided among Strangers, whom he diverted by this means, either by his Presence and the sight of his Retinue, or by the equity of his Usage, or by his Presents, from forming new Attempts. After he had establish'd Discipline among the Soldiers, as I have said, and had accustom'd them to their Exercises, the Horse pass'd the *Danube*, and put the *Barbarians* into such a Consternation, that assembling together, they made *Adrian* Judge of their Differences. In the course of this Journey he erected Theatres in several Cities, and instituted Combats, but not with that Pomp and Magnificence which was admir'd in those of *Rome*. He went not to the City where he was born, though he had given it singular Marks of his Affection. 'Tis said he had a great passion for Hunting, that he broke his Collar-bone with a fall, and with much adoë escap'd breaking his Leg. Upon this occasion he gave the name of *Adrian's* Hunting to a City which he had founded in *Mæsia*. It must be own'd, that his love for this Diversion made him not forget the Cares of Business,

nor

nor the Government of the Empire. What he did for a Horse call'd *Bariſthe-  
zes*, which he commonly us'd for Hunt-  
ing, may let us ſee how far the Exceſs  
of this Paſſion carried him, ſince when  
he died, he rais'd him a Monument in  
form of a Pillar, on which he engrav'd  
his Epitaph. Nor are we to be ſur-  
priz'd after this, at the extraordinary  
Honours he paid to the Memory of the  
Empreſs *Plotina Trajans* Wife, by whom  
he had been paſſionately lov'd, and rais'd  
to the Throne. He wore a Habit of a  
dark colour for nine days, built a Tem-  
ple to her, and compos'd Hymns in  
honour of her. He was ſuch a dexte-  
rous Sportsman, that at one ſhoot he  
kill'd a wild Boor of a prodigious big-  
neſs. Afterwards he went into *Greece*,  
and aſſiſted at the Celebration of their  
Myſteries, then he went through *Judea*,  
in order to paſs into *Egypt*, where he  
perform'd Funeral Honours to *Pompey*,  
to whom he applied a Verſe, the ſenſe  
of which is, that he had Temples erect-  
ed to him, but no Monument ; and he  
repair'd that which had been formerly  
rais'd for him. Having likewiſe rebuilt  
a City of *Egypt*, he call'd it by the  
name

name of *Antinous*, who was a Native of *Bithinion*, a place in *Bithynia*, and by some call'd *Clodiopolis*. This *Antinous* had ministred to his Pleasures, and died in *Egypt*, whether he fell into the *Nile*, as *Adrian* has written, or was Sacrific'd rather. For *Adrian*, who gave himself up to all sorts of Curiosities, as I have already observ'd, and search'd into the secrets of the Magick Art, having occasion for a Person that should voluntarily embrace Death, in order to the finding out those Mysterics, honour'd *Antinous* out of Gratitude, for having been willing to undergoe this Law, or from the sole remembrance of the scandalous Pleasures he had taken with him. One of these two Motives induc'd him to build a City in the place where he died, to call it by his Name, and to erect his Images, or rather his Idols in all parts of the World. In a word, he was so Superstitious as to affirm, that he had seen *Antinous* in Heaven, under the form of a new Star, and he was transported with joy, when he heard his Courtiers say, that the Soul of *Antinous* had been chang'd into a Star, which the Astronomers had but lately discover'd.

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The vanity and extravagance of these Superstitions, justly expos'd him to the Railleries of all the World.

Having built a City in the place of *Jerusalem*, which had been ruin'd, he call'd it *Elia Capitolina*, and in the very place where the Temple of God had been, he rais'd one to *Jupiter*. The *Jews* were extreamly afflicted to see their Country inhabited by Strangers, and defil'd with the Impiety of the Pagan Religion. Nevertheless whilst *Adrian* was in *Egypt*, or in *Palestine*, they remain'd quiet, employing themselves only in making Arms, and working unskilfully by design, to the end that if the *Romans* who had set them at work, should find them ill made and reject them, they might retain them, and make use of them against them. But they revolted openly, as soon as he was gone. Yet being afraid to expose themselves to the hazard of a Battel, they seiz'd upon the most advantageous Posts, erected Forts, secur'd places of Retreat, dug themselves Caves, and made holes to receive Air and Light, in case they should be oblig'd to retire into them. The *Romans* despis'd their Enterprize.



terprize at first. But when the *Jews* were up in Arms in all parts of the World, when by fraud and open force they had done great Mischief, when several People had joyn'd them in hopes of gain, and all the Earth in a manner was mov'd by the spirit of their Revolt, then the Emperor sent excellent Captains against them. The most considerable was *Julius Severus*, who upon this occasion was recall'd from *Great Britain*, where he commanded at that time. He durst not come to a general Engagement with them, fearing their Numbers and their Despair. But having attack'd them separately, and to Advantage, cutting off their Provisions, he weakned them to that degree, after a long while indeed, but at the same time without hazarding his Troops, that very few of them escap'd. He destroy'd fifty of their Forts, and nine hundred fourscore and five of their Towns. There fell in Skirmishes and Battels, to the number of five hundred and fourscore thousand Men, and so prodigious a multitude perish'd by Famine, Sicknes, or Fire, that 'twas impossible to count them, infomuch that *Judea* remain'd a  
 very

very Desart. This deplorable Misfortune had been in some sort presag'd to them, by the ruine of *Solomon's Tomb*, which they held in singular Veneration, and had fallen of its own accord; and by the rage of the Wolves and Hyena's, which came into their City with dreadful howlings. Nor did the *Romans* gain this Victory, without sustaining great Losses on their side, for which reason *Adrian* writing to the Senate, omitted that form which the Emperors were wont to use, *viz.* If you and your Children are well, things are in a good Condition. As for me and my Army, we are in good Health.

He sent *Severus* soon after into *Bitbynia*, as into a Province that wanted a Governor so equitable, so prudent, and so well esteem'd as he was. And indeed he govern'd it with so much Wisdom, and establish'd so good an order in all Affairs, as well private as publick, that his Memory is still in Veneration there.

The War of the *Jews* was no sooner at an end, but *Pharasmanes* excited that of the *Alains*, who are the same with the *Massagetes*. He made great Ravages  
in

in *Media*, spar'd neither *Armenia* nor *Cappadocia*. But the *Alains* were soon quiet, brib'd with the Pretents of *Vologeses*, and frightened with the preparations of *Flavius Arianus*. *Adrian* built a Temple at the same time in *Athens* to *Jupiter Olympian*, and set up his own Statue there, and a Dragon that had been brought from the *Indies*. He celebrated the Feast of *Bacchus*, in quality of Magistrate of the City, Magnificently cloath'd after the manner of their Nation. He suffer'd the *Greeks* to build a Temple to him, which was call'd *Panellinion*, in favour of which he instituted Sports, and assign'd annual Revenues in Corn and Money. Besides which he gratified the *Athenians* with the Country of *Cephalenia*. He made several Laws, and one among others by which Senators were forbid to farm the publick Taxes, either in their own or borrow'd Names.

After he was come back to *Rome*, the People made great clamours upon a day of Sports, to induce him to enfranchise a Chariot-driver. But he rejected their Petition, and made answer by way of Writing in these terms: 'Tis unreasonable

' sonable for you to ask me to infran-  
 ' chise the Slave of another, and for  
 ' me to oblige his Master to consent to  
 ' it. The inconvenience he had been  
 long subject to of bleeding at the Nose  
 increasing, he despair'd of a Cure, and  
 declar'd *Commodus* Emperor, though he  
 was likewise troubled with the same  
 Indisposition. He put *Severian* to Death,  
 and *Fuscus* his Grandson, (though the  
 first was fourscore and ten, and the o-  
 ther but eighteen) and had no other  
 pretence for treating them thus, but  
 because they had disapprov'd of the E-  
 lection he had made. *Severian* before  
 he was strangled ask'd for Fire, and  
 throwing Incense upon it, made this  
 Prayer, ' O God, who knowest that I  
 ' have committed no Crime, and that  
 ' *Adrian* puts me to Death unjustly, I  
 ' ask no other Vengeance of thee but  
 ' this, that he may one day wish for  
 ' Death, without being able to obtain  
 ' it. This Imprecation was not vain,  
 for *Adrian* languish'd with a long and  
 troublesom Sickness, during which he  
 often wish'd to die, and sought means  
 to effect it. There is even a Letter of  
 his, which contains a Description of the  
 L deplac



deplorable State to which those are reduc'd who invoke Death, and she refuses to assist them. *Trajan* had conceiv'd so particular an Esteem for the Merit of *Severian*, that he had judg'd him worthy of the Sovereign Power; for being one day at Table with his Friends, he told them he should be glad if they could name to him ten Men capable of governing the Empire. Then after a little pause he said, ' Hold, I ask but ' nine of you, for I have one of them, ' naming *Severian*. There liv'd at that time some great Men, whereof the chief were *Turbo* and *Similis*, who rais'd themselves by their Valour to great Employments. *Turbo* knew perfectly well the Art of War, had the Office of *Præfectus Prætorio*, and in the height of his Fortune, liv'd with the moderation of a private Man. He was so assiduous at Court, that he spent all the day there, and often went thither at Midnight, when others began to take their Repose. He never staid at Home, not even when he was Indispos'd, and when *Adrian* advis'd him one day to give himself a little rest, he replied to him, ' That a Man in his Place ought to die ' stand-



standing. *Similis* surpass'd him in Age and Dignity, and was not exceeded in Vertue. One may measure the greatness of it by a small Instance, which I am about to give. *Trajan* having sent for him one day into his Cabinet, before he sent for some other Officers who were his Superiors, he said to him, 'Tis not fit, My Lord, that you should Discourse with a *Centurion*, whilst his Superior Officers attend without. He had afterwards against his desire, the Office of *Præfectus Prætorio*, which he surrendred, and having with great difficulty got leave to retire into the Country, he liv'd there seven years, and when he died, order'd an Inscription upon his Tomb to this effect, viz. 'That he had been several years upon Earth, but had liv'd only seven of them. *Adrian* had lost so great a quantity of Blood, that he became a Skeleton, and afterwards Dropsical. *Commodus* dying at the same time of a loss of Blood, as I have said, *Adrian* summon'd the chief of the Senate to his Palace, and from his Bed, to which he was confin'd by reason of his Sickness, made them the following Discourse. 'Nature, my

‘ Dear Friends, having given me no  
 ‘ Children, your Laws have allow’d me  
 ‘ to adopt them. Now there is this  
 ‘ difference between those which Nature  
 ‘ gives, and those one adopts. The first  
 ‘ are such as the hazard of their Birth  
 ‘ has made them, whereas the second  
 ‘ are the result of a deliberate Choice,  
 ‘ consequently such as we desire to have  
 ‘ them. The one come often into the  
 ‘ World with notorious imperfections  
 ‘ of Body and Mind, and we make  
 ‘ choice of the others, because they  
 ‘ are free from them. I had lately cast  
 ‘ my Eyes upon *Commodus*, and had  
 ‘ preferr’d him before all the most emi-  
 ‘ nent Persons in *Rome*, because he was  
 ‘ possess’d of more excellent Qualities,  
 ‘ than I could ever have hop’d to find  
 ‘ in a Son of my own. But since the  
 ‘ Gods have taken him from us, I have  
 ‘ found another, whom I present to  
 ‘ you, one that is illustrious by his Birth,  
 ‘ moderate in his Nature, prudent in  
 ‘ his Conduct, and arriv’d to an Age  
 ‘ equally remote from the violence of  
 ‘ young Men, and the heaviness of old.  
 ‘ He has been brought up in obedience to  
 ‘ the Laws, and has pass’d thro’ Employ-  
 ‘ ments

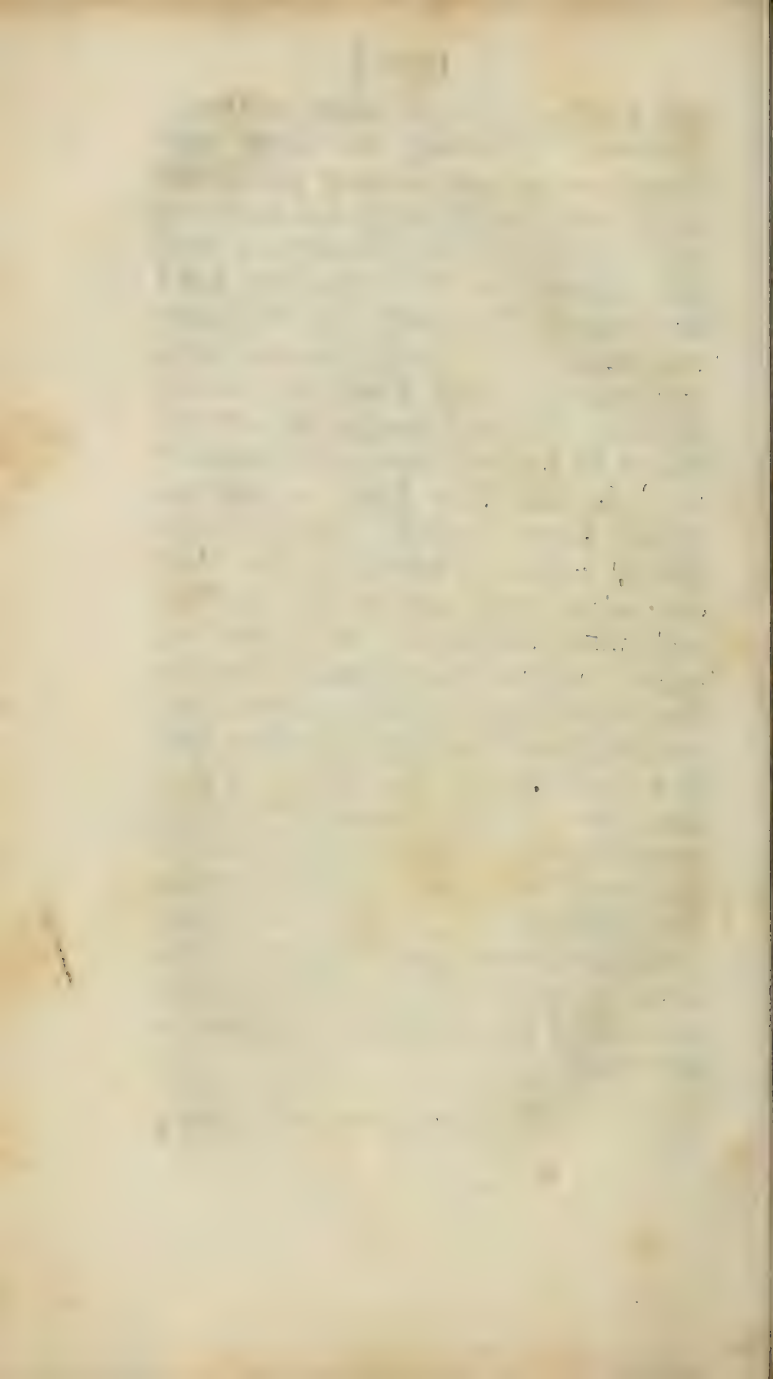
'ments in a regular course, according  
 'to the Customs of our Ancestors; so  
 'that having learnt what a Sovereign  
 'ought to know, he gives hopes that  
 'he will worthily discharge the Duties  
 'of a Sovereign. I speak of *Aurelius*  
 '*Antoninus*, whom you see here before  
 'you, who though he has naturally an  
 'aversion for the bustle of Affairs, and  
 'is wholly disengag'd from the ambi-  
 'tion of Commanding, will not slight  
 'us, I hope, to that degree, as to refuse  
 'to take upon him the Government of  
 'the Empire. Thus was *Antoninus* in-  
 vested with the Sovereign Power. As  
 he had no Male Issue, and had a mind  
 to appoint his Successors betimes, he  
 adopted *Commodus*, the Son of *Commo-*  
*modus*, and *Marcus Antoninus Verus*. This  
 last was before call'd *Catilius*, and was  
 Grandson of *Annius Verus*, who had  
 been thrice Consul, and Military Tri-  
 bune. *Aurelius Antoninus* had been ad-  
 vis'd by *Adrian* to adopt them both,  
 but he had much more consideration  
 for *Antoninus Verus*, as well in regard  
 to the relation that was between them,  
 as to the maturity of his Age, and the  
 vigour of his Mind, for which he was

wont to call him in a pleasant way *Verissimus*.

*Adrian* by the secrets of Magick, drain'd away the water that swell'd his Body. But another swelling returning soon after, and his Distemper increasing every day, he wish'd for Death without being able to obtain it, and ask'd several times for Poison, and a Dagger without being obey'd. At length finding that no body would serve him in this matter, he sent for a *Jazygian*, whose name was *Maſtor*, a strong, bold Fellow, that he was wont to make use of in Hunting, upon the account of those two qualities, and oblig'd him by Promises and Threats, to consent to kill him. To this end he shew'd him a place below the Pap, which had been formerly discover'd to him by *Hermogenes* his Physician, where he was to make the thrust, which without putting him to any pain, would deliver him from Life. But this Artifice having fail'd him, because *Maſtor* was seiz'd with Horror at so strange an Attempt, and fled from him, he began to make great complaints of his Sickness, and the Misery he was reduc'd to in not being able to die himself,

self, tho' he could put others to Death. Afterwards observing no longer any Rules, eating and drinking indifferently of every thing he lik'd, and repeating aloud an Expression very common, That the multitude of Physicians had kill'd the Emperor, he expir'd. He liv'd sixty two Years, five Months, nineteen Days, and reign'd twenty Years and eleven Months. His Body was put into a Tomb which he had built upon the Banks of the *Tyber* near *Pons Elius*, because *Augustus's* Tomb was full. He had made himself extreamly odious, by the Murders he had committed at the beginning and end of his Reign. Yet it must be own'd, that he was not cruel in his Nature, as it appear'd by his manner of revenging himself one day upon some who had offended him: For instead of giving them any ill Treatment, he contented himself with saying, that he would send word into their Countries that they had displeas'd him. Further, when they who had committed any Crime had Children, he consider'd the number of them, and relax'd the rigour of the Laws accordingly.





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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*Antoninus Pius.*

THE History of *Antoninus Pius* is not to be found in the Works of *Dion*, so that this part of him must be lost. Thus there is scarce any thing known of him, except that *Commodus*, whom *Adrian* had adopted, dying before him, *Antoninus* was adopted in his room. We also know that the Senate detesting the Memory of *Adrian*, because he had put to Death some of the most eminent Persons of the Empire, and refusing for that reason to pay

pay him Divine Honours, *Antoninus* with Tears in his Eyes conjur'd them not to affront him at that rate, and told them among other things to make them comply, that if they held *Adrian* for their Enemy, if they condemn'd his Memory, and made his Ordinances invalid, they at the same time annull'd his Adoption, and the choice he had made of him to govern the Empire. These words made such an impression upon the Senate, that out of respect to *Antoninus*, and fear of the Soldiers, *Adrian* was put into the number of the Gods. We likewise find in *Dion*, how *Antoninus* came to be surnam'd *Pius*, which was thus: Several Persons having been condemn'd in the beginning of his Reign, and some being on the point to be carried to Execution, he sav'd their Lives, saying, That he would not begin his Reign in Blood. The beginning of the Reign of *Marcus Verus*, Successor to *Antoninus*, is also wanting in the History of *Dion*, as well as the relation of what that Emperor did, with regard to *Lucius* the Son of *Commodus*, whom he had chosen for his Son-in-Law, and what *Lucius* did in the War  
against

against *Vologeses*, which was given to his Conduct by the Emperor his Father-in-Law. Thus I am oblig'd to draw from other Authors, a short relation of those Events, before I resume the rest of *Dion*. All the world agrees, that *Antoninus* was an excellent Prince, that he oppress'd none of his Subjects, that he never persecuted the Christians, but on the contrary, had a respect for them, and did in some measure refine upon those testimonies of Esteem and Honour, which *Adrian* had given them. *Eusebius Pamphilus* has inserted some Letters in his History, by which *Adrian* threatens with an Oath, to punish those who should use the Christians ill, or should accuse them before the Judges. 'Tis said, that *Antoninus* was too exact and scrupulous in little matters, which often expos'd him to the publick Raillery. *Quadratus* writes, that he died in an advanc'd Age, his Death being very calm, without any manner of Disturbance, and resembling an agreeable Sleep. It is said, that in his Reign there happen'd in *Bithynia* and *Hellespont*, a furious Earthquake, whereby several Cities, and that of *Cyzicus* among the rest were ruin'd,

ruin'd. The Temple of this last place, which was one of the vastest and noblest in the Universe, being thrown down from top to bottom. The Pillars that supported it were of an entire piece, tho' they were four Ells Diameter, and fifty Cubits high. It were easier for those who saw the other Ornaments of it to admire them, than it would be for me to describe them.

It is said that the same percussioſion having cleft the top of a Mountain, a violent flux of Water and Sea-froth proceeded from it, which ran far into the Land. This is what I had to say of the Reign of *Antoninus*, which lasted four and twenty years.

THE



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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR

*Marcus Antoninus*

The Philosopher.

**M**ARCUS ANTONINUS had no sooner taken possession of the Empire, after the Death of *Antoninus Pius*, by whom he had been adopted, but he made *Lucius Verus* the Son of *Commodus*, his Associate in the Government. That which mov'd him to chuse a Collegue is, because he was of a very tender Constitution, and much addicted to Study; for it is said, that

that after he had the Sovereign Power in his Hands, he made no difficulty of going into the Schools of the Philosophers, hearing often *Sextus* of *Bæotia*, and the Discourses of *Hermogenes* the Orator. He made profession of the Sect of the *Stoicks*. On the other side *Lucius* was in the flower of his Age, enjoy'd a vigorous Health, and had an inclination to War. Soon after his Marriage with *Lucilla*, Daughter of the Emperor *Marcus*, he went to take upon him the Conduct of the War against the *Parthians*, which *Vologeses* had begun so prosperously, that having as it were inclos'd the Roman Army near *Elegia*, a City of *Armenia*, where it was incamp'd by order of *Severian*, he had cut part of it in pieces, and had made himself formidable to all *Syria*. When *Lucius Verus* was arriv'd at *Antioch*, he rais'd Soldiers, appointed their Officers, remain'd in that City to give the necessary Orders, and to provide for the occasions of the Army, and left the command to *Cassius*. *Cassius* bravely withstood the thocks of *Vologeses*, press'd upon him when he saw him forsaken by his Allies, pursued him as far

as

as *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, set fire to the first of those two Cities, and destroy'd the King's Palace in the second. The end was not answerable to so fair a beginning. For though this General was happy enough to bring back his Troops into *Syria*, yet he lost a great number of them by Sicknefs or Famine. *Lucius* got Reputation by this Expedition, and grew vain upon it. But Fortune was soon weary of favouring his Enterprises. For it is said, that having conspir'd soon after against *Marcus Antoninus* his Father-in-Law, he was poison'd before he could put his designs in execution.

*Marcus* having bestow'd upon *Cassius* the Government of all *Asia*, during his whole Reign almost made War upon those People who live along the *Danube*, upon the *Jazygians*, and the *Marcomans*, and during all that time, made use of *Pannonia* to retreat into, to cover his Troops, and to make Irruptions. The *Germans* who live about the *Rhine*, advanc'd at the same time to the very Frontiers of *Italy*, and extreamly incommoded the *Romans*. *Antoninus* sustain'd their Efforts, and chose for his Lieutenants

nants *Pompeianus* and *Pertinax*, who signaliz'd himself in this War, and afterwards ascended the Throne.

Among the slain of the Enemy, were found Women arm'd at all points. The Battel having been very obstinate, and the Victory of the *Romans* very glorious, the Soldiers demanded Rewards, which the Emperor refus'd them, saying, that what he would give them besides what was justly their due, should be the Blood of their Fathers and Relations, and that an Emperor could have no Controuler or Judge of his Actions but God. He always behav'd himself towards the Soldiers, with so much Moderation and Prudence, that during so many obstinate and almost continued Wars, he never granted them any thing out of Weakness or Fear. The *Marcomans* having won a Battel, in which *Vindex Præfectus Prætorio* was slain, the Emperor erected three Statues to his Memory. He afterwards defeated those People, and so merited the surname of *Germanicus*; for we call those *Germans* who live in the high Country. Some Shepherds and other Inhabitants of *Egypt*, having been excited to a Sedition by

a Priest of the Country, and another call'd *Isidorus*, they disguis'd themselves like Women, and going under this borrow'd Habit, to meet a Centurion of the *Roman* Army, upon pretence of ransoming their Husbands who were Prisoners, they kill'd him and one of his Companions, part of whose Intrails they eat, and swore upon it a Reciprocal Fidelity. *Isidorus* was doubtless more famous for his Valour, than any of his Party. These Rebels being led by such a Captain, easily overcame the *Romans* that were in *Egypt*, and had taken *Alexandria*, if *Cassius* had not been sent from *Syria*, to oppose the progress of their Arms. He durst not hazard a Battel with Enemies that were so numerous, and whose despair redoubled their Courage. Therefore he had recourse to Arts and Intrigues, by which he sow'd Divisions among them, which was the cause of their ruine.

To omit nothing that was memorable in the War of *Germany*, as *Antoninus* was examining a young Man of that Nation, who had been made Prisoner, he said to him, 'My Lord, the severity of the Season will not suffer  
M. me



‘ me to answer you, if you desire to  
 ‘ receive any information from me, have  
 ‘ the goodness to bestow some Cloaths  
 ‘ upon me. A Soldier that was Sentinel  
 in the Night upon the Bank of the  
*Danube*, hearing the cries of some of his  
 Comrades on the other side, who were  
 taken Prisoners, swam over the River  
 and rescued them. The Emperor had  
 given the employment of *Præfectus Præ-*  
*torio* to *Rufus Bazeus*, a Man of Sub-  
 stance, but very plain by Nature, and  
 Education. Some body having found  
 him one day as he was cutting Wood  
 in a Forest, call’d to him to come down  
 from the Tree he was in, but he not  
 obeying, the other reprov’d him for it,  
 saying, ‘ Descend, Prefect, descend.

When the Emperor was not taken  
 up in War, he employ’d himself in di-  
 stributing Justice, and gave the Gentle-  
 men at the Bar a good measure of Wa-  
 ter, that they might plead as long as  
 they thought fit. He sometimes spent  
 eleven or twelve Hours upon the same  
 Affair, that it might be thoroughly exa-  
 min’d. He lov’d Business, applied him-  
 self to the most minute Offices, never  
 saying, doing, or writing any thing neg-  
 ligently.

ligently. He gave up whole Hours to Affairs that were slight enough, from an opinion, that an Emperor ought to do nothing with Precipitation. If he had fail'd in the least thing, he would have thought that the Réproach he should have deserv'd for it, would have extended to all his other Actions.

He was of a Constitution so delicate, that he could not bare Cold. When he had summon'd the Soldiers with an intention to make a Speech to them, he retir'd first, in order to take a little Nourishment. He made no repast till Night, taking nothing in the Day-time but Treacle, not through fear, nor by the way of Counter-poison, but as a remedy to strengthen his Stomach.

About this time the *Romans* at length obtain'd the Victory over the *Jazygi-ans*, first in the field where the Battel was begun, then upon the *Danube*, which was at that time frozen by the rigour of the Cold, where it was continued after the *Barbarians* had retreated to it. They imagin'd they should have the advantage upon the Ice, on which the *Romans* were not accusom'd to march, and with this hope they attack'd them

M 2 in

in Front and Flank. The *Romans* without being surpriz'd at this new manner of fighting, threw down their Bucklers, and setting one foot upon them to have the surer footing, stand the shock of the Enemies, close in with them, put them into Confusion, and make Men and Horses both tumble. The *Romans* fell upon the Ice as well the *Barbarians*. But if they fell backwards, they drew their Enemies down with them, drag'd them by the Feet, and got the Advantage. If they fell forwards, they fell upon the Enemy, whom they seiz'd with their Teeth on the instant. Thus the *Barbarians* who were not accusom'd to this way of fighting, and were besides but slightly Arm'd, could not bear up, so that as numerous as they were, very few of them escap'd. In this manner did the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* bring under his Subjection the *Jazgians* and *Marcomans*, after having fought several Batrels, and expos'd himself to great dangers.

Scarce was this War at an end, but another was begun against the *Quadi*, in which the *Romans* felt visible effects  
of

of the Divine Protection. The *Romans* were engag'd in a narrow Ground, where without fighting, they must inevitably perish through Heat and Thirst. They were so inclos'd by their Enemies, who were vastly superior in numbers, that their water was entirely cut off. They were oppress'd with all kinds of Misfortunes, fatigu'd with Labour, wounded, scorch'd by the Sun, press'd with Thirst, and shut up in a place where they had no strength to fight, nor way to escape. In this dreadful extremity, they receiv'd an unexpected relief from Heaven. For of a sudden the Clouds gather'd, thickned, and pour'd down plentifully. 'Tis said, that a Magician of *Egypt* call'd *Arnuphius*, who was in the *Roman* Army, invok'd *Mercury*, and other Demons that preside in the Air, and obtain'd of them this Rain. This is what *Dion* advances. But certainly he is mistaken, or had a mind to impose upon others, which I rather believe, since he could not be ignorant there was a *Legion*, which was surnam'd *Fulminans*, and upon no other occasion, but for having conjur'd Heav'n by the fervency of his Prayers, and obtain'd in



a wonderful manner the preservation of the *Roman* Army, and the ruine of that of the *Barbarians*. *Arnuphius* never was a Magician, and no body has written that *Marcus Antoninus* was addicted to the superstitions of Magick. The truth of the story is as follows. Among the Legions of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, there was one compos'd of the People of *Maltha*, whose Inhabitants were all Christians. Now as the Emperor was in an extream perplexity during this War, and greatly concern'd for the event of it, one of his great Officers represented to him, that there were some Christians among his Troops whose Prayers were so powerful, that they could obtain any thing from Heaven. *Antoninus* comforted with the news, commanded the Christians to offer up Prayers to their God for the preservation of the *Roman* Army. They had no sooner obey'd him, but they obtain'd Thunder and Lightning, which astonish'd and dispers'd the Enemy, and a Rain which comforted and refresh'd the *Romans*. The Emperor surpriz'd at the force of their Prayers, made an Edict in favour of the Christians, and  
gave



gave to the Christian Religion the surname of *Fulminans*. 'Tis said, there is still a Letter of his upon that Subject. The *Pagans* are not ignorant that this Legion was furnam'd *Fulminans*; they even avow it, but they conceal the occasion of its being so call'd. *Dion* adds, that when the *Romans* saw the Rain, they open'd their Mouths to receive it, then fill'd their Bucklers, and their Helmets with it, drank till they were satisfied, and gave it to their Horses. They were attack'd the same Moment, and were found equally busie in drinking and defending themselves. Some being wounded, mix'd their Blood with the Water they drank. They had without doubt been worsted in the Engagement, if it had not been stop'd by the violence of Hail and Lightning, which fell upon their Enemies. Heaven at the same time shed its Water which refresh'd the one, and lanc'd its fire which consum'd the other. The *Romans* receiv'd no hurt by the fire, and if it fell upon them, 'twas extinguish'd on the instant. The *Quadi* were not reliev'd by the Water, which seem'd to change to Oil on their side, and to kindle the fire that destroy'd

them. The Rain with which they were smitten not extinguishing their fire, they gave themselves wounds in order to extinguish it with their Blood. Some went over to the Camp of the *Romans*, through a belief that there was no other place, where the water might be of any assistance to them. The Emperor pitied their Misfortune, and receiv'd them gently. He was the seventh time proclaim'd Emperor by the Army, and though he had never before accepted the Title till 'twas given him by the Senate, yet he receiv'd it then not so much from the Soldiers, as from Heaven it self. *Faustina* was at the same time call'd Mother of the Army.

*Pertinax* having been honour'd with the Dignity of Consul, as a Reward for his Signal Services in this War, some were displeas'd at it, by reason of the lowness of his Birth, and applied a Verse to him, the sense of which was, that he owed his rise to the Calamities of War. They who took this liberty with him, little thought that he was to be their Sovereign one day.

*Cassius* having revolted in *Syria*, the Emperor was extremely surpriz'd at it,  
and

and sent against him his Son *Commodus*, who was come to mature Age. *Cassius* was a Native of *Syria*, a Man of great Vertues, and adorn'd with every quality that was desirable in an Emperor. He wanted nothing but Birth, being the Son of *Heliodorus*, who rose from the profession of Rhetorick, to be Governor of *Egypt*. He committed a great fault no doubt, when he attempted to usurp the Sovereign Power. But he was engag'd to it by *Faustina*. She was the Daughter of *Antoninus Pius*, and Wife to *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* the Philosopher. Perceiving that the Emperor her Husband was infirm, and that *Commodus* was young, and of little hopes, she apprehended, lest the Sovereign Power might fall into the Hands of another, who should reduce her to a private Condition, and perswaded *Cassius* to be ready to marry her secretly, and to possess himself of the Empire, in case any fatal accident happen'd to *Antoninus*. While *Cassius* was deliberating upon this design, Fame, according to her custom of publishing ill news rather than good, dispers'd that of the Emperors' Death, and on the instant,

*Cassius*

*Cassius* without examining the truth of the Report, declar'd his intention to assume the Sovereign Power, which had already been given him by the suffrages of the Army which serv'd in *Pannonia*. When he understood the news was false, he found himself too far engag'd to change his opinion, reduc'd the People who live beyond Mount *Taurus* to subjection, and prepar'd to make himself be acknowledg'd by all the other Subjects of the Empire.

When *Marcus Antoninus* had receiv'd intelligence by Letters from *Verus*, Governor of *Cappadocia*, of the Revolt of *Cassius*, he endeavour'd to keep it secret. But after it was become publick, and had caus'd some confusion among the Soldiers, he summon'd them together, and spoke to them in these terms. 'I  
' come not hither my Companions, to  
' vent my Displeasure or my Resent-  
' ment; for to what purpose should I  
' accuse the Gods, since they dispose of  
' all things with an absolute Will? Ne-  
' vertheless they, who, like my self, are  
' unfortunate, without deserving to be  
' so, must find it very difficult to re-  
' frain from Complaints. In earnest is  
it

' it not hard to be vex'd with continu-  
 ' al Wars, and to get rid of one only  
 ' to fall into another? Is it not cruel  
 ' to see a Civil War succeed a foreign one?  
 ' But is it not a Misfortune yet more  
 ' fatal than a War, whether foreign or  
 ' civil, to find by experience, that there  
 ' is no longer any Fidelity among Men,  
 ' to see my self betray'd by one of my  
 ' most intimate Friends, and to be en-  
 ' engag'd in Battels, for which I have  
 ' given no occasion? Can there be in  
 ' the World after this, any Vertue that  
 ' is solid, any Friendship that is con-  
 ' stant? Is it not to be avow'd, that  
 ' there is neither Faith nor Hope re-  
 ' maining? I should condemn this dan-  
 ' ger, if it threatned me alone, for in  
 ' a word, I am not Immortal. But since  
 ' it regards all Mankind, and tends to  
 ' a publick Insurrection and General  
 ' War, I would summon *Cassius* before  
 ' you and the Senate, if 'twere possi-  
 ' ble, and suffer his pretentions to be  
 ' examin'd. There if it should be judg'd  
 ' for the good of the State, that I should  
 ' resign the Government in his favour,  
 ' I would most willingly consent to it.  
 ' In earnest, what reason could I have  
 ' to



' to be willing to keep a station that  
 ' engages me to sustain so many La-  
 ' bours, and to run through so many  
 ' dangers? Notwithstanding the incon-  
 ' veniences of Age and Sickneſs, I have  
 ' paſſ'd out of *Italy*, and continued a-  
 ' broad for a long time, during which  
 ' I have had not the leaſt interval of  
 ' Repoſe. But ſince 'twould be in vain  
 ' to attempt to bring *Caffius* over to  
 ' this Examination, or to place any con-  
 ' fidence in me after having given me  
 ' ſo many marks of his Treachery, I  
 ' exhort you, my Companions, to be  
 ' of good Courage. If Troops drawn  
 ' from *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Judea* and *Egypt*,  
 ' were far ſuperior to you in number,  
 ' inſtead of being, as they are, inferi-  
 ' or, that advantage would be of little  
 ' uſe to them. Yet further, how ſuf-  
 ' ficient ſoever *Caffius* is in the Art of  
 ' War, and howſoever fortunatæ he has  
 ' hitherto been, he is not the more for-  
 ' midable at this juncture, ſince an Ea-  
 ' gle with a train of Jays, or a Lion at  
 ' the head of timorous Hinds are in-  
 ' capable of any great execution. To  
 ' you and not to him, belongs the glo-  
 ' ry of having finiſh'd the War againſt  
 the

' the *Arabians*, and *Parthians*. If he  
 ' values himself on his Exploits in those  
 ' Wars, you have *Verus* among you,  
 ' who has fought greater Battels, and  
 ' gain'd greater Victories. Yet more,  
 ' perhaps he repents of his Undertaking,  
 ' since he understood the rumour of my  
 ' Death was false, and perhaps he had  
 ' remain'd in quiet, if he had imagin'd  
 ' I had been alive. But tho' he should  
 ' still be determin'd to revolt, he will  
 ' renounce his design out of an awful  
 ' respect to my Dignity, or an apprehension  
 ' of your Power, as soon as he  
 ' receives information of your March.  
 ' Thus I have but one thing to fear,  
 ' for I'll conceal no part of the truth  
 ' from you; I say I have nothing to fear,  
 ' but lest to avoid the confusion of  
 ' appearing before you, he should procure  
 ' his own Death, or be dispatch'd  
 ' by others upon the report of the preparations  
 ' I am making to chastise his Insolence. This doubtless would deprive  
 ' me of the most Signal Advantage I can expect  
 ' from War and Victory, and the most glorious one  
 ' that ever any Man gain'd on any occasion  
 ' whatsoever. You'll ask me what this  
 ' might-

' mighty advantage is. It is to pardon  
 ' an Injury, to preserve friendship for  
 ' one who has made a violation of it, to  
 ' be faithful to one that is disloyal.  
 ' Perhaps what I say seems incredible to  
 ' you. It is true notwithstanding. It  
 ' must not be imagin'd that Vertue is  
 ' intirely banish'd from the World, and  
 ' that there are among us no remains of  
 ' the Probity of the first Ages. The  
 ' more this seems impracticable, the  
 ' more I wish to perform it, and to make  
 ' appear that to me 'tis very easie, tho'  
 ' 'tis judg'd impossible. I would always  
 ' draw this advantage from our Mis-  
 ' fortunes, to teach the World that how  
 ' fatal soever a Civil War is to a Nati-  
 ' on, 'tis possible to make a good use  
 ' of it.

This is what *Marcus Aurelius* spoke  
 to the Army. He wrote the same in  
 substance to the Senate, without mixing  
 either in his Speech or his Letter, any  
 injurious Reflections upon *Cassius*, ex-  
 cept that he reproach'd him with In-  
 gratitude. And *Cassius* on his side  
 never let a word fall, that was con-  
 trary to the respect he owed to *Aure-  
 lius*.

While

While this Prince was making his Preparations, he receiv'd news of the Defeat of some foreign Nations, and of the Death of *Cassius*. A *Centurion*, whose name was *Antonius*, meeting with him, wounded him in the Neck, but the wound not being Mortal, because the *Centurion* was carried away by the swiftness of his Horse, a second Officer gave him another. They afterwards cut off his Head, and brought it to the Emperor. Thus was *Cassius* slain after he had for three Months and six Days enjoy'd the shadow of the Imperial Dignity. His Son was also kill'd in another place at the same time.

*Marcus Aurelius* visited the Nations that were concern'd in the Rebellion of *Cassius*, and us'd them with such singular Humanity, that he put no body to Death, either great or small. *Faustina* died at the same time, and by her Death, happily avoided the shame and displeasure of being tax'd with having knowledge of the Conspiracy. The Emperor would not examine into the Circumstances of it, and instead of reading Letters that gave him information of it, he tore them in pieces, that he might



might not be oblig'd to hate those whom he should find concern'd. 'Tis said also, that *Verus* who was sent into *Syria*, having found the Cabinet and Memoirs of *Cassius*, suppress'd them, saying, that *Marcus Aurelius* would thank him for it, or if he should resent it, he would willingly be a Sacrifice to his Anger for the preservation of others. 'Tis certain this Emperor was so far from having a Disposition to the shedding of Blood, that the Gladiators fought before him with Foils. He was sensibly touch'd with the loss of *Faustina*, and in his Letter to the Senate upon that Subject, he told them, that the only Consolation he could receive from it was, that none of the Accomplices of *Cassius* had been punish'd with Death. The Gods forbid, says he, ' That I  
 ' should condemn, or suffer you to con-  
 ' demn any of your Assembly to the last  
 ' Punishment. He was so extreamly  
 ' Merciful, that he added, if you will  
 ' not allow me this favour, my Life will  
 ' become a burden to me. He was a  
 Benefactor to those who had conspir'd  
 against him and his Son. Now because  
*Cassius* had attempted to usurp the So-  
 vereign



vereign Power in *Syria*, which was the place of his Birth, he made a Law by which the Natives of Provinces for the future, v. made incapable of the Government of them. The Senate order'd two Statues of Silver to be erected in the Temple of *Venus*, one in Honour of the Emperor, and the other in Honour of *Faustina*. They likewise order'd an Altar to be set up before it, on which every contracted Couple was to sacrifice before Marriage. In a word, to honour yet more the Memory of that Princess, they further appointed, that whenever the Emperor went to the Theatre, the Golden Statue of *Faustina* was to be set in the place where she was wont to sit when she was alive, and that Ladies of the first Quality should attend it, with as much Order and Ceremony, as if she had been a living Empress.

When the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* entred *Athens*, he was initiated into the Mysteries of that City, granted honourable Priviledges to the Inhabitants, and assign'd Revenues for the promotion of all kinds of Learning. After he was come back to *Rome*, as he was one  
N day

day haranguing the People, and speaking of the number of years he had spent abroad in his Expeditions, the Citizens with a loud Voice cried out eight, at the same time extending their Hands to receive as many pieces of Gold. The Emperor smiling repeated eight, and order'd every *Roman* eight Pieces, which was so considerable a Sum, that so great a one was never given before by any Emperor.

After that he remitted all that had been due to the Publick and Imperial Treasuries, for the course of six and forty years, without including therein *Adrian's* Reign, and order'd all the Papers of Claims to be burnt in the publick Place. He was a great Benefactor to several Cities, and among others to *Smyrna*, which had been ruin'd by an Earthquake, and intrusted a Senator who was then *Pretor*, with the care of rebuilding it. All these things consider'd, I cannot but be amaz'd at the Injustice of some Men, who have tax'd him with a want of Magnificence, and greatness of Soul ; for 'tis certain that though he was very frugal, he spar'd nothing that was necessary, and besides his ordinary Expen-

Expences was at several others as far as Decency went, without laying any burden on the People to support them.

He married his Son to *Crispina* sooner than he desir'd, upon the account of new Practises carried on in *Scythia*; which requir'd his Presence there. What Valour, what Prudence, and what Experience soever the *Quintilii* had shewn in the War of that Province, they were not able to put an end to it. Thus the Emperors were oblig'd to go thither in Person. *Marcus Aurelius* desir'd of the Senate, before he went, the Money that was in the publick Treasury. Not but that 'twas easie for him to take it, instead of asking for it, as having the absolute Power in his Hands; but 'twas because he was wont to say, that the Publick Wealth belong'd to the Senate and People. As he was speaking one day in the House, among other things he said, 'I have nothing of my own, ' the very Palace I live in is yours.

After that he went to the Temple of *Mars*, and taking up a bloody Lance, as I have heard from those who were present, darted it towards the Enemies

Country, and departed. He sent *Paternus* with a powerful Army, and gave him orders to fight the *Barbarians*. They defended themselves a whole day, and at last were cut in pieces, after an obstinate Resistance. *Marcus Aurelius* after this Victory, was a tenth time proclaim'd Emperor, and I doubt not but if he had liv'd longer, he had reduc'd all *Scythia* under his Subjection. He died the seventeenth day of *April*, not of his Distemper, but of Poison which his Physicians had given him to gain the favour of *Commodus*, as I am well assur'd. When he was at the point of Death, he recommended *Commodus* to the Soldiers, being unwilling it should be thought, that he had advanc'd his Death, and the Tribune asking him for the Word, he said to him, ' Turn to ' the Rising Sun, for I am near Setting. Great Honours were paid to his Memory, and among the rest, a Statue of Gold was erected to him in the Senate. Thus died the best Emperor that ever was. He possess'd all the Vertues, and had besides a natural Disposition to Goodness, to which he rais'd a Temple in the *Capitol*. He refrain'd from all manner

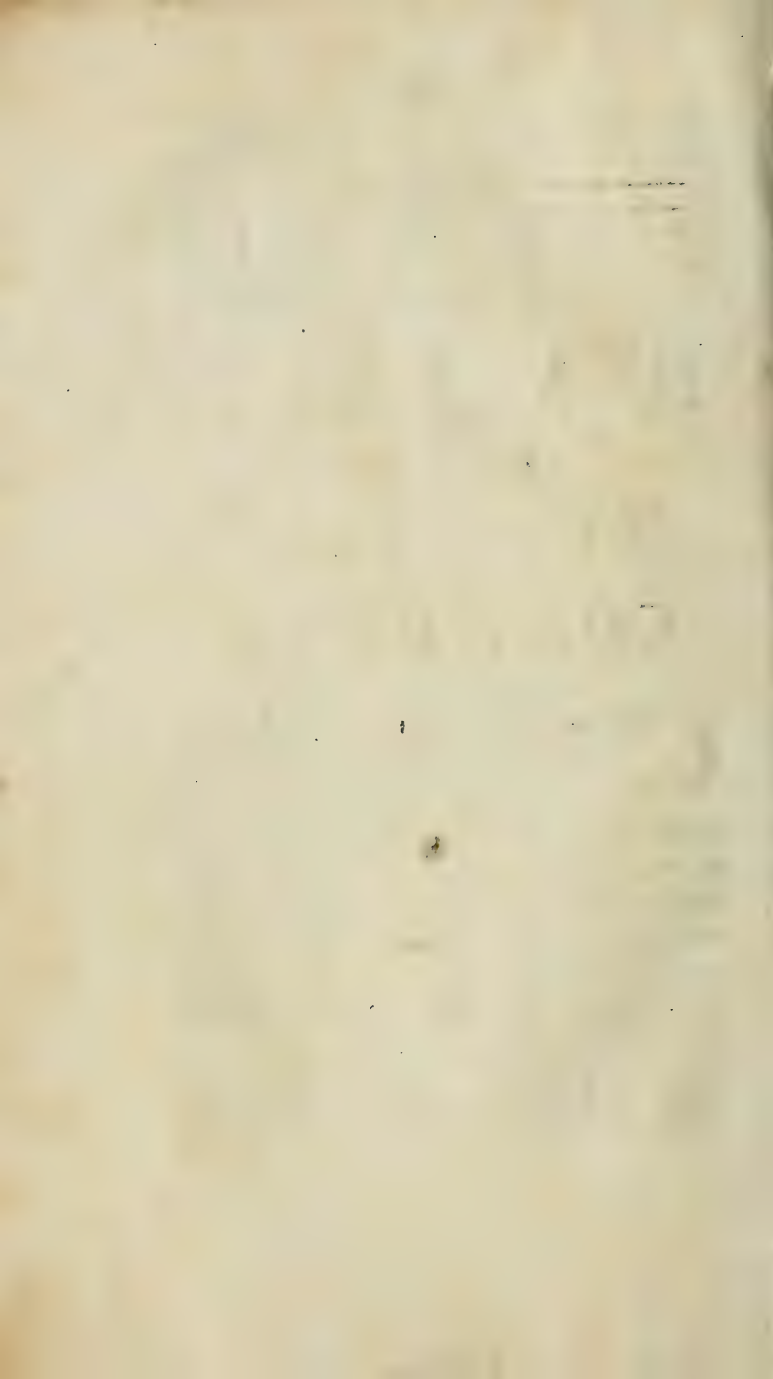
manner of Vice, and made no strict enquiry into those of his Wife or others. He took a pleasure in commending those who succeeded in any Profession that was useful to the State, and employ'd them without ever attributing to himself the glory of their Labours. One cannot better frame an *Idea* of the excellence of his Vertues, than by reflecting upon the course of his Life, and by considering that in eight and fifty Years, ten Months, and twenty Days, which was the Age he liv'd to, that in all the time he reign'd with *Antoninus Pius*, his Father-in-Law, and the ten years he reign'd alone, he shew'd not the least inequality of Temper, nor any inconstancy in the order of his Conduct. He receiv'd great helps from his Studies, from Rhetorick and Philosophy. He had for his Tutors in Rhetorick, *Fronton* and *Herod*, and in Philosophy *Rusticus* and *Apollonius*, who profess'd themselves of the Sect of *Zeno*. This Inclination which he had for Learning, dispos'd several to an appearance of addicting themselves to it, with a design to obtain his favour. But besides Study, he had an excellent Nature,



and before he had ever convers'd with Philosophers, he had of himself a disposition to Vertue. He gain'd from his Infancy by his good Qualities, the affection of his Relations, who were the richest, and most considerable Men of the Empire. He was adopted by *Adrian* for the same reason, nor did this honour make him lose any of his Moderation. He read perpetually the *Greek* and *Roman* Orators and Philosophers. Before he came to the Empire he had a Dream, in which he thought his Arms and Hands were made of Ivory, and put to all sorts of uses. His assiduoufness at his Study, had extremely alter'd his Constitution, tho' he had been formerly robust enough to learn all his Exercises, and to kill wild Boars on Horseback. His Health being ruin'd in this manner, he was indispos'd almost during the whole course of his Reign. I esteem and admire him so much the more, for having been able in the midst of so many Infirmities, to support the weight of the most important Affairs, and for having preserv'd the Empire. That which seems to be wanting to his Happiness is, that  
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whatsoever care he had taken of the Education of his Son, he prov'd unsuccessful in it. We shall now proceed to the History of his Reign, under which one may say, the *Romans* saw so prodigious a change, that from a Golden one, they pass'd to an Iron Age.

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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*COMMODUS.*

**C**OMMODOUS had no manner of Craft or Malice. On the other side he had too much simplicity and a natural fearfulness, that held him to a mean submission to those that were about his Person. As he had not discernment enough to chuse, of himself right Ministers, those who had taken possession of his Mind, dispos'd him at first to Debaucheries, and then to the utmost Cruelties. He was but nineteen when his Father died, who left him for his

his Guardians, the most considerable Men of the Senate. But he soon renounc'd the wise Counsels of those great Persons, to follow his Inclinations, and made a Peace with foreign Nations, in order to plunge himself in Idleness, and the pleasures of *Rome*. Several conspir'd against him, and he got rid of several, as well Men as Women, of some publickly, and by the Ax, of others privately, and by Poison. He hardly spar'd any of those who had made themselves famous under the Reign of his Father, and under his own. *Pompeian*, *Pertinax*, and *Victorinus*, were the only three that had the strange fortune to escape. I write not this, or what I shall add in the remainder of this Work upon the report of others, but my own Observation and Knowledge. When he came to *Rome*, he made in full Senate a very impertinent Speech, in which among the praises he gave himself, he brag'd that he had once drawn his Father out of a deep Slough, into which he had fallen by chance. These and such like were the Actions he was proud of. As he was going into the Theatre, *Claudius Pompeianus* made an attempt upon his



his Life, and in a narrow place presented a Dagger to him, saying, ' Behold ' what the Senate has sent you. This *Pompeianus* had married *Lucilla*, the Daughter of *Lucilla*, and Sister of *Commodus*, and was said to have as close a familiarity with the Mother, as with the Daughter. This Alliance gave him admission into the secrets of *Commodus*, so that he was a Party in all his Diversions. *Lucilla* who was as irregular in her Manners, as her Brother *Commodus*, being provok'd against *Pompeian* her Husband, and designing to ruine him, advis'd him to conspire against the Emperor. But *Commodus* having discover'd her Treachery, punish'd her soon after her Husband. He dispatch'd *Crispina* for her inconstancy and loose courses, and had before banish'd them both to *Caprea*. He also put *Martia* to Death, the Mistress of *Quadratus*, and *Electus*, Gentleman of his Chamber, *Quadratus* had possess'd the same Post, and was afterwards involv'd in the number of those whom the Emperor sent out of the World. This *Martia* was some time after given in Marriage to *Electus*. 'Tis said, she had an affection for the Christians,

stians, and employ'd her Credit with the Emperor, to obtain them many Favours. *Commodus* also put to Death *Julian* and *Paternus*, who might easily have prevented it, if they would, since one commanded a powerful Army, with whom he was in great Credit, and the other was *Præfectus Prætorio*. In a word, he us'd the same violence against the *Quintilii*, two Brothers, the one call'd *Cardian*, and the other *Maximus*. They were become very famous by their Learning, their sufficiency in the Art of War, the greatness of their Riches, and the strictness of their Friendship. Though they attempted nothing against the Government, it was judg'd nevertheless by the State of their Fortune, that they were not content. They were united in Death, as they had been in their Lives, and executed together with the Son of one of them. They preserv'd an inviolable friendship for each other, nor could any Jealousie or Emulation, that were incident to the Employments they possess'd together, ever change it. They enjoy'd great Riches, and were almost always Collegues in the same Dignities.

Sex-

*Sextus*, the Son of *Maximus*, who had all the advantages a Man could receive from a happy Birth, and an excellent Education, judging well that he should infallibly be condemn'd to die, swallow'd the blood of a Hare, got on Horseback, and then purposely fell to the Ground. This was in *Syria*, where he was at that time. Then he vomited up his foreign Blood before his Servants, as if it had been his own, and was carried into his House, as if he had been at the point of Death. Soon after the news of his Death was spread abroad, the Ceremony of his Funeral was perform'd, and instead of his Body, they put a Ram upon the Bier, and burnt it. He afterwards lay conceal'd, removing from place to place, and continually changing his Habit and Equipage. But as Events of this nature cannot be long kept secret, there were suspicions of his being alive, and search was made for him in all the corners of the World. Several were taken up for having something of his Air, and many others were punish'd either for having conceal'd him, or some other way favour'd his Enterprize. Several who per-

perhaps never saw him, were depriv'd of their Estates upon his account. 'Tis not certainly known whether he was kill'd, or escap'd, for several Heads were brought to *Rome*, which were all said to be his. There appear'd a Man after the Death of *Commodus*, who took the name of *Sextus*, and pretended to take possession of his Estate and Employments. He impos'd upon several who were curious enough to examine him. But *Pertinax* speaking to him in *Greek*, which the true *Sextus* had learnt in his youth, he answer'd improperly thro' his ignorance of the Language. I was present when this Imposture was discover'd in the manner I have said.

There is in *Cilicia* a City call'd *Malus*, where *Apollo* delivers Oracles, and explains Dreams. *Sextus* having consulted him about his future Fortune, the God represented it to him by a Picture, in which there was a Child that crush'd two Serpents, and a Lion that pursu'd a Fawn. When I went into *Cilicia* with my Father, who was Governor of that Province, I was not able to explain that Riddle, nor could I ever unfold the sense of it, till I heard that  
by

by the command of *Commodus*, who had the ridiculous vanity of pretending to imitate *Hercules*, the two Brothers *Cardian* and *Maximus*, had been strangled in the same manner as *Hercules* strangled the Serpents that were sent by *Juno* to destroy him in his Infancy ; and that *Sextus* had escap'd, and was pursu'd by a powerful and formidable Enemy. I should never have done, if I was to represent all the Violences that *Commodus* practis'd against those whom he put to Death, either upon groundless Accusations, or vain Suspicions, or for the greatness of their Estates, or the splendour of their Birth, or the eminence of their Knowledge, or some other rare and excellent Quality.

He had Wars to support against foreign Nations, and among the rest, he had a War with those People who live beyond *Dacia*, where *Albinus* and *Niger*, who afterwards carried on a Civil War against the Emperor *Severus*, acquir'd great Honour. But he had none so dangerous upon his Hands, as that of *Great Britain*. For the People of this Island having pass'd the Wall that divides them from the *Romans*, attack'd them,



them, and cut them in pieces. *Commodus* fearing the progress of their Arms, sent *Marcellus Ulpus* against them. He was a Man of great Moderation and Temperance, who in his daily Actions of Eating, Drinking, and the like, affected nothing above the rest of the Soldiers. He had a great sublimity of Soul, was above Bribes and Presents, and yet of no easie or agreeable Humour. He was more vigilant than any other, and oblig'd those who were under him, to follow his Example. He wrote twelve Billets every Night, and sent them to the Officers of the Army at several different hours of the Night, to the end, that by this information of his being awake, they might not abandon themselves to Sleep. He was naturally dispos'd to sleep little, but he had accusom'd himself to it by a habit of great Temperance. He always had his Bread sent him from *Rome*, that by eating it hard, he might never eat more than necessity requir'd. *Marcellus* being happily endued with so many extraordinary Qualities, obtain'd many notable advantages over the *Britains*. He was afterwards very near being made a  
Sacri-

Sacrifice to his conspicuous Vertues, which *Commodus* could hardly bear, but he spar'd him notwithstanding.

*Perennis* who had succeeded *Pater-nus* in the Post of *Præfectus Prætorio*, was taken out of the World upon the account of a Sedition among the Soldiers. *Commodus* having given himself up to the Diversions of the *Circus*, and to all sorts of Excess, and having renounc'd the Obligations and Duties of an Emperor, *Perennis* was charg'd with the weight of publick Affairs, and especially the care of the Army. Thus when any thing fell out that displeas'd the Soldiers, they threw the fault upon him. The Army in *Britain* having rais'd a Mutiny, which was with great difficulty appeas'd by the Prudence and Authority of *Pertinax*, chose fifteen hundred Men from among them, whom they deputed into *Italy*. These Deputies being arriv'd at the very gates of *Rome* without Opposition, *Commodus* went to meet them, and ask'd them what was the occasion of their Journey. They answer'd, that 'twas to inform him of the Conspiracy that *Perennis* had form'd against him, with a design to advance

his Son to the Empire. The Emperor giving credit to what they said, and yielding to the pressing Instances of *Cleander*, who bore an inveterate hatred to *Perennis* for opposing his unjust Designs, instead of despising those Soldiers who were inferior to his Guards both in Number and Strength, put *Perennis* into their Hands, whom they Beheaded, after having scourg'd him. They afterwards kill'd his Wife, his Sister, and his two Daughters. Thus died *Perennis*, who seem'd worthy of a happier End, and had done nothing to be Reproach'd for, except his having contributed to that of *Paternus* his Collegue, through an ambition to possess the Post of *Præfectus Prætorio*. Yet more, he neither aim'd at Riches or Glory, would not be corrupted by Presents, was extremely Moderate, and maintain'd with an unparalell'd Vigilance the Authority of his Master. When he was Dead, the Companies of Guards commanded by *Cleander*, committed the most horrible Abuses, putting all to Fire and Sword. *Commodus* in the mean time was plung'd in Pleasures, confining his thoughts to the diversion of publick Shows, Cha-  
riot-

riot-courses, Combats of Gladiators and wild Beasts. Without mentioning here the Executions that were privately made in the Palace, he kill'd in publick several Men and Beasts, five Sea-horses in a Day, two Elephants in two other Days, with a Rhinoceros, and a *Camelopard*. These and such like, werethe noble Occupations and Exploits of this Emperor.

*Victorinus*, Governor of *Rome*, being dead, a Statue was erected to him. *Commodus* had a mind several times to put him to Death, but as he was restrain'd from it out of some kind of respect to his Vertue and Eloquence, which had made him one of the most Illustrious Men of his Age, *Victorinus* went himself one day to *Perennis*, and said to him : ' I understand you have resolv'd upon my Death. Why do you delay it then, since it depends only upon you ? While he was Governor of *Germany*, he endeavour'd to perswade his Lieutenant in private, to stand proof against the temptations of Presents, and to remain uncorrupted in his Station, but not prevailing upon him, he mounted upon his Tribunal, and took an Oath before

a multitude of People, ' That he never  
' had, nor would receive Bribes upon  
' any occasion. He afterwards urg'd his  
Lieutenant to take the same Oath, and  
upon his refusal discarded him. This  
was the Character of *Victorinus*.

As to *Cleander*, who rose after the  
death of *Perennis*, to the utmost height  
of favour, he had been sold in his youth  
with other Slaves, and brought to *Rome*  
with the rest of them to carry Burdens.  
He was such a Minion of Fortune, that  
from so obscure a beginning he came  
to be the Favourite of an Emperor, to  
marry one of his Mistresses nam'd *Damostratia*, and to be so absolute in Pow-  
er as to put several Persons to Death,  
among the rest *Saoter*, a Native of *Ni-*  
*comedia*, who was before him in the  
same favour with *Commodus*. This *Sao-*  
*ter* had acquir'd so great a Credit, that  
the Inhabitants of *Nicomedia* had ob-  
tain'd by his means the liberty of e-  
stablishing Sports and Combats in their  
City, and of building a Temple in ho-  
nour of *Commodus*. *Cleander* had so un-  
limited a Power, that he sold or dis-  
pos'd of all Employments, and Offices,  
Places in the Senate, Commands in the  
Army,



Army, Governments of Provinces, and all things in general: Which gave *Julius Solon*, a Man obscure and unknown, occasion to say an agreeable thing, which was, ' That after he had been depriv'd of his Estate, he was banish'd into the Senate. The same *Cleander* nam'd five and twenty Consuls for one year, which was never done before, or since. *Severus*, who afterwards came to the Empire, was of the Number. It is not to be admir'd, that this *Cleander* after he had with so much Industry applied himself to all occasions of getting Riches, should have heap'd together more Wealth, than ever any Man did in his Station. The use he made of it, was answerable to his manner of getting it. For he laid it out in making Presents to *Commodus*, and his Mistresses, building Palaces and Baths, and raising Structures for the convenience of particular People, and the Publick. But the more prodigious and surprizing his Elevation had been, the more precipitate and terrible was his Fall. He was kill'd not by a Rebellion of the Soldiers, as *Perennis* had been, but by a Sedition of the People. The thing was thus. The

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year

year having prov'd unfruitful, and Provisions rising dear, *Dionysius Papirius*, who by the Duty of his Office was oblig'd to prevent the extravagant price of Provisions, increas'd it by design, that the People who were already but too much exasperated against *Cleander* on the account of his fleecing the Publick, might rise in a fury, and pull him to pieces. Nor was he deceiv'd in his expectation. For as they were assembled at the *Circus*, and the Horses were ready for the seventh Course, a company of Children conducted by a Woman of an extraordinary Stature, and of an Air terrible to behold, entred the place, and made a horrid noise. The People answering their Clamours, forgot nothing that rage could inspire them with. They went afterwards to a House belonging to *Quintilius*, where *Commodus* was at that time, made Acclamations in his favour, and heap'd Imprecations upon *Cleander*. *Cleander* dispatch'd some Soldiers against them, who falling upon them, wounded some, and kill'd others. But the People instead of being appeas'd, grew more exasperated than before, and trusting to their Numbers,

bers, went directly to the place where *Commodus* was. He knew nothing of the Sedition, till *Marcia* the Mistress of *Quadratus* inform'd him of it, upon which as he was very timorous, he order'd *Cleander* to be kill'd upon the Spot, together with his Son, whom he bred up at his Court. This Child was on the instant dash'd to pieces against the Ground. The Father was drag'd and torn piece-meal, with all manner of Insults. His Head was born through the City on the top of a Lance. Some of those who had the greatest share in his Favour, had also a part in his Disgrace.

When *Commodus* was weary of his Pleasures, his thoughts bent towards nothing but Murders. He shed the Blood of the most considerable Men of the Empire, as of *Julian* the *Præfect*, tho' he would embrace him sometimes before all the World, and call him his Father; and that of *Julius Alexander*, who on Horseback had kill'd a Lion. This *Alexander* hearing that some Soldiers were arriv'd in the Night to Murder him, prevented them, and slew them. He also kill'd the Inhabitants of

*Emefus*, who though his Country-men, were become his Enemies. He took Horse on the instant, and had escap'd into a foreign Country, if a youth whom he lov'd and would not forsake, could have follow'd him. But when he saw that they who pursu'd him were at hand, he first kill'd the Boy, and then himself.

There was at the same time so strange a Mortality, that I believe is not to be paralell'd. There was not a day, in which there did not die of Sicknes to the number of two thousand Persons in *Rome*. Several others were kill'd not only in *Rome*, but in all parts of the Empire, by the detestable Artifice of some Villains, who for Money shot poison'd Needles, as had been formerly practis'd in *Domitian's* Reign, and destroy'd an innumerable company of innocent People. But neither contagious Distempers, nor poison'd Darts, were so fatal to the *Romans* as *Commodus*, who oblig'd them to give him through fear all the Honours they paid to the late Emperor his Father through Inclination. He made them call the City by his Name, and the Army, and the very day on which  
it.



it was decreed. He took several Surnames, and chiefly that of *Hercules*. He affected to have *Rome* consider'd, as a Colony which he had establish'd, and call'd it the Immortal, and thrice-happy Colony of the World. There was a Golden Statue erected to him, that weigh'd two thousand Marks, with a Bull and Cow of the same Mettal. There was invented a new way of counting the Months, and calling them by twelve of his Surnames, which are as follows.

*Amazonian, Invincible, Felix, Pius, Lucius, Elius, Aurelius, Commodus, Augustus, Roman, Hercules, Conqueror*. Tho' he often chang'd his Surnames, yet he always retain'd those of *Amazonian*, and *Conqueror*, as if he had in effect surpass'd all Men in all things. Such was his Arrogance and Vanity. When he wrote to the Senate, 'twas in these terms: The Emperor *Cæsar, Lucius, Elius, Aurelius, Commodus Augustus, Pius, Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Britannicus* the Great, Controller of the World, *Invincible, Roman Hercules, High Priest*, eighteen times *Tribune*, eight times *Emperor*, seven times *Consul, Pater Patriæ*; To the *Consuls, Pretors, Tribunes* of the



the People, and the *Commodian* happy Senate, Health.

Among the Statues that were erected in his Honour, there were some in which he was represented with the Habit and Equipage of *Hercules*. It was ordain'd, that the time of his Reign should be call'd the *Golden Age*, and that all the Letters should make mention of that Title. This *Golden Prince*, since he would be call'd so, this *Hercules*, in a word, this *God* returning about Noon from some Country-Seat to *Rome*, saw thirty Horses run in two Hours. So vast an expence in a little time exhausted his Treasure. For he was liberal by Nature, and often gave away to the People a hundred and forty Drachma's *per* Head. But to have wherewithal to furnish this Profusion, Men and Women of Quality were accus'd falsely, some were put to Death, others redeem'd their Lives by giving up their Estates. Upon a day that was the Anniversary of his Accession to the Empire, he exacted of us, our Wives, and our Children, two pieces of Gold *per* Head, and five Drachma's of the Senators of other Cities. He never drove Chariots in publick,

lick, except it was in a very gloomy Evening perhaps, and what Inclination soever he had for it, he forbore out of some remains of Modesty. But he practis'd it frequently in his Palace, cloath'd in a green Habit. He kill'd a great number of Beasts, both in private and publick. He likewise fought in private as a *Gladiator*, and kill'd several Persons. He would sometimes pretend to cut the Hair of some of his Domesticks, and instead of that slit their Noses, or their Ears. He never appear'd in publick without drawing his Sword, nor without spilling Blood. Before he entred the Theatre, he wore a Tunick of white Silk with Sleeves, and we found him in this Dress when we came to salute him; but when he entred, he put on a purple Vest embroider'd with Gold, and over it a Gown of the same, after the manner of the *Greeks*, with a Crown of Gold adorn'd with precious Stones upon his Head. He held in his Hand a Wand, like that of *Mercury*. There was carried before him a Lions Skin, and a Club, and they were lodg'd upon a Seat in the Theatre, whether he was present or absent. He entred some-

times

times in an Equipage as *Mercury* is represented, and having pull'd off his upper Garments, being stript to his Vest, went to work. The first day he shot a hundred Bears. He had divided the Theatre into four parts by two Partitions, that cut through Diametrically, and by right Angles, to the end that from the Galleries that were round about, he might with greater ease single out the Beasts that he aim'd at. When he was tir'd, he drank some Wine that was delicious and cool out of a Cup that he receiv'd from the hand of a Woman, and at the same instant the People and Senate cried out with one Voice, May the Emperor Live.

For what remains, I must intreat those who shall give themselves the trouble to cast their Eyes upon this Work, not to think these little Events blemishes, that tarnish the beauty of it, for I should not have inserted them, if I had been of that opinion. But because they were the real Actions of this Emperor, at which I was present, and had even some concern in them, I thought my self oblig'd in stead of suppressing them, to preserve the Memory of them, as much

as

as if they had been the most serious and important Affairs. I shall relate more exactly the particulars of what pass'd in my time, than what happen'd before, not only because I have been a witness of them, but also because none of those who might be otherwise capable of writing them, is so well inform'd of them as my self. The Emperor having employ'd himself in shooting from above, during the former part of the time this Diversion held, descended afterwards to the bottom of the Theatre, and there slew some other private Beasts, whereof some made towards him, others were brought to him, and others were shut up in Dens. Among the rest he kill'd a Tyger, a Sea-Horse, and an Elephant. When this was done he retir'd; but returning after Dinner, us'd the Exercises of a *Gladiator*, with a Shield in his right Hand, and in his left a Sword of Wood, for he was proud of being Left-handed, as if it had been a great advantage to him. He fought either against the Master who had taught him, or against a *Gladiator* whom he had provok'd, or whom the People had chosen; and this *Gladiator* held a  
 Ferula



Ferula in his Hand. In a word, he did all the Offices of the other *Gladiators*, and there was but this difference between them and him, that whereas they receiv'd a small Reward, he touch'd every day two hundred and fifty thousand Drachma's of the fund assign'd for this Expence. When he fought in this manner, *Emilius Letus Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Electus*, another of his Officers attended him; and after he had got the Victory, as he never fail'd to get it in this Mock-fight, he kiss'd them without taking off his Helmet.

After him fought those whom he had chosen in the Morning at the bottom of the Theatre, when he was cloath'd like *Mercury*, with a Golden Wand in his Hand, seated upon a Throne of the same Mettal, and to whom he had prescrib'd the manner of fighting, which we could not regard but as something very Monstrous. He return'd afterwards to his usual Seat, and was present with us at the rest of the Shows, in which there was nothing very diverting, since Murders were frequently committed there. When he saw *Gladiators* counterfeiting earnest, and disguising



sing their Thrusts, he order'd them to be tied together, and as they fought link'd in this manner, they sometimes kill'd Spectators, when they approach'd too near them. These Sports lasted fourteen days. We Senators attended very assiduouly with the Knights, tho' we were in separate places. No body absented himself but *Pompeian*, who would sooner have chosen to die, than to see the Son of *Marcus Aurelius* sully his Dignity by so infamous a practice. Nevertheless he sent his Children. We made several Acclamations as they were prescrib'd to us, and this oftner than any other: ' You are the Master, you ' are the First, you are always Victori- ' ous; *Amazonian*, you are always the ' Conqueror. There were several among the People, that never appear'd at the Theatre. Some were no sooner entred, but they went out again, as abhorring to be witnesses of the Abominations that were committed there. Others kept away out of fear, by reason of a report that had been spread, that *Commodus* had a design to let fly at the People, as *Hercules* did formerly at the *Stimphalides*. The rumour seem'd probable,

bable, and the apprehension just to those  
 who remembred, that he had formerly  
 assembled together all such as had by  
 Sickness or other Accidents, lost the use  
 of their Feet, order'd their Leggs to  
 be tied with Cords, made in the form  
 of Serpents, then Sponges to be given  
 them to throw at each other instead  
 of Stones, and afterwards beat them to  
 death with a Club. There was no bo-  
 dy but was afraid of the like Treat-  
 ment, and we were no more exempted  
 from this Apprehension, than the mean-  
 est of the People. He put us one day  
 into a fright, which gave us occasion  
 to believe, that we should be all mur-  
 der'd. He approach'd towards the place  
 where we were sitting, holding the  
 Head of a Beast that he had just kill'd,  
 and shewing it to us with his Hand, and  
 brandishing his Sword which was all bloo-  
 dy, he shook his Head without saying  
 one word, as if by that Action he inten-  
 ded to threaten us with serving us in the  
 same manner as he had serv'd the Beast.  
 We could not forbear laughing at the  
 Action, in stead of being afflicted, and  
 this Mirth had certainly cost some of us  
 our Lives, if to disguise it I had not put  
 in

in my Mouth some of the Laurel-leaves I pull'd from my Crown, and advis'd those who sat near me to do the same. Soon after he gave us considerable comfort, for as he was just going to fight after the manner of the *Gladiators*, he sent us orders to be present at the Theatre in Knights Habits, which we never wore but at the death of an Emperor. Yet further, upon the last day of the Sports his Helmet was taken off, and fell through the Door where the dead us'd to be carried out. These two incidents made us judge, that he would be soon taken out of the World, as he actually was. For *Letus* and *Electus*, being no longer able to suffer the indignity of these Extravagancies, and being afraid besides that he would put his threats in practice against them, to revenge the liberty they often took of condemning his excesses, resolv'd to dispatch him. He had a design to put to death the two Consuls, *Ericius Clarus*, and *Sissius Flaccus*, and to proceed from the quarters of the *Gladiators* on the first day of the Month, in quality of Consul and *Secutor*. He liv'd in their Neighbourhood as the first of their Order, and I

am perswaded no body will refuse to make additions still to what I have said, when he knows that this Emperor order'd the Head of a *Colossus* to be taken off, and his own to be put in its room, and having added to it a Club, and a Lion of Brass underneath, he directed the following Inscription to be engrav'd, ' The first Combatant among ' the *Gladiators* call'd *Secutores*, who ' vanquish'd alone twelve thousand Men ' with his left Hand. All these monstrous Extravagancies were so many powerful Motives for *Letus* and *Electus*, to conspire against him. Having communicated their design to *Marcia*, they gave him Poison by her means in some Beef, upon the last day of the year, when all the World was taken up with Feasting and Rejoycing. The Poison was almost rendred ineffectual by the Wine he had drank in Excess, and by the Bath to which he was accusom'd; insomuch that having vomited, he mistrusted there was a design against his Life, and threatned to be reveng'd, which oblig'd the Conspirators to send a Wrestler to him call'd *Narcissus*, who strangled him while he was yet in the Bath.

This



This was the end of *Commodus*, who reign'd twelve Years, nine Months, fourteen Days, and liv'd one and thirty Years, and four Months.

The Family of the *Aurelii*, lost the Empire in his Person, and the end of his Life was the beginning of Seditions and Troubles. I shall here relate the occasion that engag'd me to write the History of them. After I had compos'd a Book of Dreams, and Signs, on which *Severus* grounded his hopes of coming to the Empire, I did my self the honour to send it to him. When he had read it, he sent me an answer in very obliging terms. That Night in my Sleep my *Genius* commanded me to write History. Thus I undertook to write the passages of our time. This Work having had the good fortune to please *Severus*, I determin'd to make a general History that should comprehend all that had happen'd to the *Roman* People from their first Establishment, to the time it should please Fortune to lead me. As I was afraid to charge my self with such a Load, the Divinity that presides over my Conduct rais'd my Spirits, by assuring me in my Sleep, that it should be



a Work that should triumph over the malice of Time, and whose glory the succession of Ages should never tarnish. Thus I employ'd ten years in collecting Memoirs of what had pass'd from the Establishment of the *Roman* Commonwealth, to the Reign of *Severus*. I spent twelve years more in digesting them, and forming them into a Body. I shall write the rest, as time shall furnish me with occasions. For what remains, I think I ought to observe the Signs that preceded the Death of *Commodus*. There were several Eagles seen to fly about the *Capitol*, who by their cries seem'd to presage some remarkable Event. Yet further, some Houses taking fire, it got to the Temple of Peace, consum'd the Shops, and Effects of the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, spread as far as the Palace, and reduc'd to Ashes almost all the Records of the Empire; which made People judge, that its violence instead of being confin'd to *Rome*, would be extended through the World. In earnest it could not be extinguish'd by all the diligence of Men; whatsoever efforts the People, the Soldiers, and the Emperor himself, who was return'd in  
hast

hast from a Country-seat, made for that end, they could not accomplish it. In a word, it did not cease till it had entirely destroy'd every thing it had seiz'd upon.

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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*P E R T I N A X.*

**P***E R T I N A X* was a Prince of great Merit, but he reign'd a very little time, being taken away by a Faction of the Soldiers. Before the Death of *Commodus* was made publick, *Letus* and *Electus* went to meet him, and declar'd to him, that in consideration of his Vertue, they had chosen him to be the Successor of *Commodus* in the Empire. Ere he would engage with them, he had a mind to be inform'd of the Truth, and sent one of

P 4 his

his Servants whom he could entirely relie upon to view the Body of *Commodus*. When he was assur'd of his Death, he went privately to the Camp, and a little astonish'd the Soldiers by his Presence. However they did not shew their surprize, because they saw *Letus* with him, and because they heard that he promis'd them three thousand *Drachma's* per Head, and there is room to believe, they had never been troublesom, if he had not spoke to them in these terms :  
 ' There are, my Companions, many  
 ' Disorders in our Age, but I hope we  
 ' shall be able with your help to put  
 ' an end to them. These words made them apprehend, that he had a design to take away all that *Commodus* had allow'd them against the ancient Custom. Nevertheless they disguis'd their fear, and remain'd quiet. As soon as he left the Camp, he came to the Senate, tho' Night was begun, and after he had saluted us one after another, as we could be seen by him in the Crowd, he said to us, ' I have been declar'd Emperor  
 ' by the Army, but I have no need of  
 ' the Empire, and I renounce it very  
 ' willingly, as well for the burden and  
 ' fati-



‘ fatigue of it, as on the account of my  
 ‘ Age and Infirmities. After that we  
 gave him the praises that we were per-  
 swaded he deserv’d, and chose him with  
 an unanimous Voice, and a perfect Li-  
 berty. He was indeed an excellent Per-  
 son, and had all the advantages of Mind  
 and Body, except that he was subject  
 to be lame in his Leggs. Thus was  
*Pertinax* proclaim’d Emperor, and *Com-  
 modus* declar’d Enemy of the Empire.  
 It is not possible to repeat all the abu-  
 sive terms that were utter’d against him  
 by Senators and People. They were  
 for dragging his Body and Statues thro’  
 the Streets. But *Pertinax* telling them  
 that the Body was already buried, they  
 spar’d it, and reveng’d themselves upon  
 his Statues, with all the outrages they  
 could invent. He was no longer stil’d  
 Emperor, but Plague of the State, Ty-  
 rant, Gladiator, Chariot-driver, Left-  
 handed Monster. The People congratu-  
 lating the Senators, who had been  
 apprehensive of a Persecution under the  
 Reign of *Commodus*, cry’d aloud, ‘ Cou-  
 ‘ rage, you have won the Field. They  
 repeated all the Acclamations they had  
 been formerly accusom’d to make in  
 favour

favour of *Commodus*, and turn'd them into Ridicule. They were not contented to be deliver'd from the fear of Tyranny, and to enjoy their freedom, without abusing it by dishonouring the Memory of the Tyrant, and loading his Name with the sharpest Imprecations. As to *Pertinax*, he was a Native of *Alba*, a City of *Liguria*, of no great Birth, and had studied in his youth, as much as was necessary to enable him to subsist by his Learning. His knowledge brought him acquainted with *Claudius Pompeianus*, by whose Recommendation he got the Post of a Tribune of Horse, he who since became the Sovereign of *Pompeian* himself. I have seen this extraordinary Man under two different Reigns, both the last and first Man of the Empire. During the Reign of *Commodus*, he led an obscure Life in the Country, under pretence of an Indisposition in his Eyes, and of old Age; but during that of *Pertinax*, though his Age was more advanc'd, and his Distempers augmented, he was in great Consideration, and had the Honour to sit on the High-seats in the Senate.

*Pertinax*

*Pertinax* us'd us with great gentleness and familiarity, receiv'd our Petitions with Civility, entertain'd us at his Table, where there was nothing superfluous, or otherwise sent us Presents, which yet were neither exquisite nor rare. They who liv'd in Luxury and Excess, made a jest of a Simplicity that was out of fashion. But for us who preferr'd the ancient Moderation to the corrupted Manners of the present time, and the torrent of Custom, we could not but commend him for it. At the time of his being in *Britain*, where he compos'd a Sedition by a piece of prudence that deserv'd a general Approbation, a Horse of the *Green Faction*, that was a favourite of *Commodus*, and call'd *Pertinax*, won the Race: At which those of that side rejoycing, cried out, This is *Pertinax*. The contrary Party being piqu'd at this Acclamation, replied, ' Would to Heaven he were here, by which they meant not the Horse, but this Great Man. Yet more, it entred one day into *Commodus's* Head, to send for this Horse out of the Country, where he was taken care of without being oblig'd to work, because he was worn  
with

with Age, and having order'd him to be brought into the *Circus* with Golden Shoes, and cover'd with very splendid Furniture, as soon as he appear'd, the People cried out of a sudden, this is *Pertinax*; which Acclamation was a kind of Presage of the fortune of *Pertinax*, who was proclaim'd Emperor during the last Sports of the same year. There was another Presage taken from a Club, which *Commodus* as he was preparing on the last day of the Sports to fight as a Gladiator, put into the hands of *Pertinax*. As soon as he was in possession of the Sovereign Power, he took very honourable Surnames, and among others, affected that of Prince of the Senate, according to the ancient Custom, with a design to win the Affections of the People. He took particular care to reform Abuses, and shew'd in his Administration an incredible Goodness, Sweetness, Wisdom and Vigilance. Among the Actions perfectly worthy of a great Prince, with which he honour'd his Reign, I cannot forbear observing, that he restor'd the Memory of those who had been unjustly condemn'd, and swore that he would never punish any  
one



one in such a manner. Those who had a mind to make use of the benefit of this Restitution, got their Friends and Relations together, and with tears of Joy, drew out the Bodies or Bones of their Friends from the Earth, and deposited them in the Tombs of their Ancestors.

The Publick Treasure was so far exhausted at this time, that it amounted to no more than two hundred and fifty thousand Drachma's. For which reason *Pertinax* was oblig'd to sell the Statues, Arms, Horses, and other things that belong'd to *Commodus*, and to apply the Money that accrued from the Sale, towards the payment of what he had promis'd the Soldiers, and the People. He was very glad to expose to Sale every thing that had been us'd for the Exercises, Sports and Combats of *Commodus*, not only to blast his Memory, or to raise Money, but likewise to be able to distinguish those who should be forward to buy those Instruments of Debauchery. *Letus* was very warm in crying up the Vertues of *Pertinax*, and loading the Memory of *Commodus* with Imprecations. He order'd some Foreigners



ers who were returning to their own Countries to be remanded, and having resum'd out of their Hands the Sums of Money they had receiv'd from *Commodus* a little before his Death, to continue the Peace with the *Romans*, ' Now ' be gone, said he to them, and inform your Countrymen, that *Pertinax* sits at present on the Throne. Those People were but too well acquainted with the name of *Pertinax*, during the War they had sustain'd in the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*. *Letus* to dishonour yet further the Memory of *Commodus*, made a very strict search after Buffoons, Dancers, and others of the same Species of Men, whose Gestures were Ridiculous, and whose Lives were Infamous. He expos'd them to the publick Scorn, and confiscated their Estates which they had got by Immodesty and Depravity, and by the proscription of the principal Men of the Empire. This Spectacle excited different Passions and Sentiments mix'd with Joy, Grief, and Anger.

And yet this *Letus* did not always keep, or rather kept not long an inviolable Fidelity to *Pertinax*. For under a pretence

pretence that he enjoy'd not all the Honours and Rewards he pretended to deserve, he encourag'd the Army to revolt against him, as we shall see anon. *Pertinax* gave to *Sulpitian* his Father-in-Law the Government of *Rome*, of which the World confels'd him to be very worthy. But though we had conferr'd upon his Wife the Title of *Augusta*, and that of *Cæsar* upon his Son, he would not suffer them to take them, whether 'twas, he did not judge the foundations of his Power to be sufficiently solid for him to accept of Honours, whose splendor never fails to excite Jealousie, or whether he was not willing to allow his Wife the name of *Augusta*, lest she should stain it by her Immodesty, nor his Son that of *Cæsar*, lest he should be tied down to an Oath at so young an Age, or lest his Mind should be corrupted by the hopes of a Throne. He would not so much as suffer him to be educated in the Palace, lest he should grow Vain ; but he sent him with his Sister to be brought up by a Grandfather, where after he had divided all his Estate betwixt them two, he very seldom saw them, and when he

he did, not with the Majesty of an Emperor, but with the tenderness of a Father.

As the Soldiers had no longer that unbounded licence under his Reign, as they formerly had to commit Robberies, nor the Freedmen of Emperors the power of breaking all the Laws with Impunity, they conceiv'd a very strong hatred against him for tying up their Hands. These last however durst not attempt any thing, because they were disarm'd; but the Soldiers encourag'd by *Letus*, conspir'd against him, elected for their Emperor the Consul *Falcon*, in consideration of his Birth, and Riches, and resolv'd to carry him to the Camp to be acknowledg'd by the Army, while *Pertinax* was employ'd at Sea, in giving orders for bringing Provisions to *Rome*. *Pertinax* receiving information of this Enterprize return'd in haste, and coming into the Senate spoke in these terms: ' I am glad of this occasion to let you know, that though I found  
' but five and twenty thousand Drachma's in the Royal Treasury, I have  
' notwithstanding given as large Donatives to the Soldiers, as *Marcus Aurelius*

‘ *lius* and *Lucius* gave them, who found  
 ‘ in the same *Exchequer*, to the Sum of  
 ‘ sixty seven thousand five hundred  
 ‘ Drachma’s. This dissipation of the  
 ‘ Treasure of the Empire was doubtless  
 ‘ made to satisfy the Avarice of the  
 ‘ Freedmen.

When *Pertinax* said he had given as  
 largely to the Soldiers, as *Marcus Au-*  
*relius* and *Lucius* had done, he went  
 a little too far. For the first gave them  
 five thousand, and *Lucius* three thou-  
 sand Drachma’s. This also rais’d the  
 Indignation and Murmuring of several,  
 as well Soldiers as Freedmen, who were  
 in the Assembly. As we were just go-  
 ing to condemn *Falcon*, *Pertinax* rose  
 and said aloud, ‘ The Gods forbid that  
 ‘ any Senator should be condemn’d, tho’  
 ‘ justly, in my Reign.

*Letus* making use of the occasion of  
 this Enterprize of *Falcon*, put several of  
 the Soldiers to Death, as by the Empe-  
 rors order, which had that effect, that  
 the rest for fear of being treated in the  
 same manner, made a Mutiny; two hun-  
 dred of the boldest of them entred the  
 Palace with Sword in Hand, and were  
 got up to the Emperor’s Apartment be-

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fore

fore he knew any thing of it. But when he was advis'd of it by his Wife, he did an Action which some will call Resolute, and others Imprudent. For whereas he might easily have order'd these Seditious Fools to be cut in pieces by the Night-guards, the Horse, and other arm'd Men about him, instead of hiding himself, or flying from them, either of which he might have done for the present, he met those Furies who were got into his Palace without any opposition, and hop'd either to repress their boldness by his Presence, or to perswade them by his Discourse. They were in effect touch'd with some sense of Respect and Shame when they saw him, and began to bend their Eyes to the Earth, and to put up their Swords. There was but one more impudent than the rest, who went up to him, and holding out his Sword, said to him, ' Behold what the Army has sent thee, and then gave him a stroke. The rest instead of hindring him, seconded the blow, and kill'd both their Emperor and *Electus*, who us'd his utmost endeavours to defend him, and wounded some of the most forward. I had always an esteem for the Vertue of *Electus*, but  
then



then conceiv'd an Admiration for his Valour. The Soldiers pierc'd the Head of *Pertinax* with a Lance, and triumph'd in this Action, as if it had been a most Heroick Exploit. Thus *Pertinax* died, for having undertaken too quick a Reformation of Abuses, which had been fortified by a long course of years, and for not considering enough with all his Capacity, that every sudden Change is dangerous, especially in a State, and that when any one designs to exterminate Disorders, he must take some time to do it, and have a little Patience. He liv'd sixty seven Years, four Months, and three Days, and reign'd but three Months and three Days.



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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR

*Didius Julianus.*

AS soon as the noise of the Death of *Pertinax* was spread abroad, some retir'd to their Houses, others took refuge in those of the Soldiers, and every one provided for his own safety the best he could. *Sulpitian* who was at that time in the Camp, having been sent thither by *Pertinax* to accommodate Matters, endeavour'd to manage the Soldiers, and to gain their Suffrages for his election to the Empire.

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In the mean time *Didius Julianus*, a Man of great Wealth, that lavish'd it away with a profusion equal to the ardour with which he got it, and who besides thought of nothing but forming new Attempts, for which he had been formerly banish'd by *Commodus* to *Milan*, the place of his Birth; this *Julianus*, I say, had no sooner heard of the Assault which the Soldiers had committed upon *Pertinax*, but he went immediately to them, and solicited them to name him for his Successor. Never had *Rome* seen any thing so infamous, or so unworthy of her. The Sovereign Power was set to sale by those very Men who had dip'd their Hands in the Blood of their Sovereign; the competition lay between *Sulpitian* who was in the Camp, and *Julianus* who was in *Rome*, and they had at length bid so high, that each Soldier was to have for his share five thousand Drachma's. There were Persons that went to and fro from *Sulpician* to *Julianus*, and from *Julianus* to *Sulpitian*, to let each of them know what the other offer'd to oblige them to rise upon each other. *Sulpitian* had carried it without doubt, as well because he was perfo-

personally in the Camp, and besides, was possess'd of the Government of *Rome*, as because he was the first that offer'd five thousand Drachma's *per* Head, if *Julianus* had not bid upon him of a sudden with a loud Voice twelve hundred and fifty Drachma's more, and shew'd them the Money. The Soldiers being dazled with so considerable a price, and apprehending besides, that if *Sulpitian* were possess'd of the Sovereign Power, he would revenge the Death of *Pertinax*, as *Julianus* had suggested to them, they proclaim'd *Julianus* Emperor, conducted him in the Evening to the *Forum*, and to the Senate with the Standards display'd, as if he had been ready to undertake some very important Expedition. He had likewise a design to frighten us by this pomp of War. The Soldiers testified a singular esteem for him, and call'd him *Commodus*.

This Revolution gave us cause to fear the resentment of *Julianus*, and the displeasure of the Army, especially those among us who were particularly tied to the interest of *Pertinax*. My self was of the number, and had been gratified by his Generosity with the station



of *Pretor*. Yet more, I had pleaded several Causes, in which I had laid open the manifest Injustice which *Julianus* had done to those whose interest I defended. All these reasons oblig'd us to quit our Houses, to avoid the suspicions that might have been entertain'd of us if we had staid at Home. Wherefore after Supper we went out with an assur'd Countenance, pass'd through the Guards, and entred the Senate, where we heard *Julianus* make a Speech that was worthy of him, in which among other things he said, 'I see that you  
' are in want of an Emperor, and I  
' find my self more capable of that  
' Dignity than any Body. I would make  
' you an exact enumeration of my good  
' qualities, if you had not discover'd  
' them upon several occasions. Thus  
' I was under no necessity of coming  
' hither attended with a great number  
' of Soldiers, to obtain of you the confirmation of the honour they have  
' done me. He seem'd to insinuate, that he was not attended by the Soldiers, when all the Passages both within and without the Senate were fill'd with them, and he call'd upon us to be witnesses

nesses of his good Qualities, when we did not know so much as one in him, but serv'd to increase our fear and hatred.

After the Senate had confirm'd his Election he went to the Palace, where he found the Supper that had been prepar'd for *Pertinax*, insulted his dead Body, play'd at several Games, and sent for a celebrated Dancer call'd *Pilades*. The next day we went to compliment him, disguising our thoughts with Care, and avoiding any shew of Discontent. The People far from dissembling, declar'd their Sentiments freely, and prepar'd openly for the execution of their Designs. One day when *Julianus* was come to the Senate, and was preparing to offer a Sacrifice to *Janus*, all the People cried out with one Voice, that he had usurp'd the Sovereign Power, and was a Parricide. *Julianus* pretending not to be disturb'd with those Clamours, promis'd them Money; but they despis'd his Promises, and rejected his Offers, as scorning to be corrupted by Presents. Upon which being no longer able to contain his Anger, he commanded some of them that were nearest to him to be put to Death. But the People

ple still more exasperated at this command, shew'd a greater concern than ever for the loss of *Pertinax*, heap'd Curses upon the Usurper and the Army, and implor'd the assistance of the Gods. There were several of them, who when they were wounded, and just ready to expire, did not cease to oppose with all their power the Proclamation of *Julianus*, and to express the Horror they had ever to see him upon the Throne. In a word, they all took Arms, and marching in crowds to the *Circus*, they spent the Night and Day following in the same place without eating or drinking, invoking the other Armies, chiefly those who serv'd in *Syria* under *Pecenninus Niger*, and supplicating them to revenge them. But when they found themselves weakned by their Cries, their Abstinence and their want of Sleep, they separated without any hopes of continuing their Enterprize, except what they grounded upon the assistance of Foreigners. *Julianus* being thus possess'd of the Empire, preserv'd it by unworthy Methods, and vile Flattery, whereby he endeavour'd to gain the affection of the Senators, and Persons of Quality; promising some, bribing

bribing others, and careſſing all the World in general. He was often preſent at the Sports and Diversions of the Theatre, and made frequent Entertainments. In ſhort, there was nothing he did not put in practice to gain us to his Party. But all this did not hinder us from miſtruſting his Careſſes; for when a Man is very officiouſly forward to pay extraordinary Civilities to another, Men of ſenſe are apt to ſuſpect there is ſome deſign at the bottom. But let us take a view of the changes for which the Provinces were preparing, while *Rome* was in this convulſive State, under their new Emperor *Didius Julianus*. Three famous Captains who commanded in ſeveral Countries three Armies compos'd of *Romans* and Foreigners, attempted at the ſame time to uſurp the Sovereign Power. One was *Severus*, the ſecond *Pecenninus Niger*, and the third was call'd *Albinus*. The firſt was in *Pannonia*, *Niger* was in *Syria*, and the other in *Britain*. Theſe were the Men doubtleſs that had been ſignified by three Stars that appear'd about the Sun upon the firſt day of *January*, while *Julianus* was offering a Sacrifice at the entrance  
of

of the Senate in our Presence. The Soldiers observ'd them, and shew'd them one to another with this remark, that they threatned this new Prince with some very terrible Misfortune. We very heartily wish'd that the Soldiers might be Prophetick upon this occasion. But we durst not fix our Eyes upon these new Stars, nor observe them but *en passant*. *Severus* who was the most powerful, and at the same time the most dexterous of the three, judging there would be a Contest between them about the possession of the Sovereign Power, as soon as he who was invested with it should be depriv'd of it, determin'd to enter into an agreement with *Albinus*, who was nearest to him, and to that end sent a Man to him of approv'd Fidelity with a Letter, by which he created him *Cæsar*. As for *Niger*, he slighted his Alliance, because he knew him to be a Man of excessive Pride, and incapable of observing any Moderation, after the People of *Rome* had implor'd the assistance of his Arms against the violent steps of the Usurper. *Albinus* holding himself secure of sharing the Empire with *Severus*, con-

tinued



tinued quiet. Then *Severus* brought under his subjection all the strong Places in *Europe*, except *Byzantium*, and made his approaches to *Rome*, securing himself Day and Night in the midst of six hundred of the choicest Men of his Army.

When *Julianus* had intelligence of his march, he got him declar'd an Enemy to the Empire by Decree of the Senate, and prepar'd for Battel. *Rome* was chang'd as 'twere into a Camp, where nothing was to be seen but preparations for War, Soldiers, Horses and Elephants training up for Service. The Inhabitants of the City, and the Neighbouring Peasants fear'd nothing so much as the violences of the Soldiery. The Companies of Guards who had been accustom'd to a soft and lazy Life, and knew nothing of their Duty, were a jest to us. The Marine Soldiers that were drawn out of the Fleet, had forgot their Exercises. Yet more, the Elephants grown wild at the sight of Horses, would suffer no body to mount them. But nothing made us laugh so much, as to see the Palace shut up, and barricado'd round. For *Julianus*, being

ing perswaded that *Pertinax* had never been kill'd by a sedition of the Soldiers, if the Palace at that time had been so fortified, was in hopes that in case he had the Misfortune to lose the Battel, he might there save his Life. In the mean time he put to death *Letus* and *Marcia*, and thus all those who had conspir'd against *Commodus*, were taken out of the World: For *Narcissus* who strangled him, was since expos'd to the Beasts by the command of *Severus*, and while they were tearing him to pieces, the Herald cried out with a loud Voice, Behold the Man that strangled *Commodus*. *Julianus* put to Death a great number of Children to practice the Magick Art upon their Bodies, from an opinion, that if 'twere possible by means of this Art to find out the Misfortunes that threatned him, it might be likewise possible to avoid them. Besides he sent several Persons to attempt to assassinate *Severus* by surprize. But after he had entred into *Italy*, had taken *Ravenna* without difficulty, and that they who had receiv'd orders to perswade him to return, or to hinder him from advancing further, had declar'd for him, and that

that the Guards in which *Julianus* had put his principal trust began to lose Courage, we were assembled by *Julianus*, and exhorted to declare *Severus* his Collegue in the Government of the Empire. In the mean time the Soldiers of the Guards, reposing confidence in some Letters by which *Severus* had promis'd they should receive no hurt provided they would continue quiet, and deliver up those who had kill'd *Pertinax*, seiz'd them, and gave notice of it to *Silius Messala* the Consul. He summon'd us immediately in the Temple of *Minerva*, which was so call'd from those who perform their Exercises there, and reported to us what the Soldiers had given him advice of. Upon which we condemn'd *Julianus* to Death, declar'd *Severus* Emperor, and decreed that Divine Honours should be paid to *Pertinax*. *Julianus* was kill'd in his Palace, and only said as he was dying, 'What hurt have I done, and whom have I put to Death? He liv'd sixty Years, four Months, and four Days, and reign'd but two Months and ten Days.

T H E



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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*SEVERUS.*

**S***EVERUS* being thus come to the Empire, condemn'd those to Death who had kill'd *Pertinax*, and before he entred *Rome* sent for the rest of the Guards, had them encompass'd in a Plain ere they knew any thing of his design, reproach'd them severely with their Treachery to their Emperor, took away their Arms and their Horses, and forbid them to go back to *Rome*. They were forc'd to quit their Arms and their Horses, threw  
R off



off their Sashes, and were despers'd. One of them perceiving that his Horse follow'd him, and would not leave him, kill'd his Horse and then himself. They who were present, imagin'd they observ'd in the Horse tokens of Joy, as if he were pleas'd to die in this manner. *Severus* arriv'd at *Rome* on Horseback in the Habit of a Cavalier. He dismounted at the Gate, and entred the City on foot with a Gown. He was followed by all the Troops, as well Horse as Foot. This Entry was one of the most Magnificent Sight's I ever saw. All the Streets were adorn'd with Flowers and Lawrel-branches, and Tapestries, and a vast number of Flambeaux and other Lights. The Inhabitants were all in White, and made the Air ring with Acclamations of Joy. The Soldiers were under their Arms, and march'd in excellent order; as at a Triumph. We were likewise there in Body, with Ornaments suitable to our Dignity. The People press'd extreamly to see him, and to hear him speak, as if his new Power had chang'd him from what he was before. When he was come to the Senate, he confirm'd us in the possession of

of a favour which had been formerly granted us by the best Emperors, which was, that he would never put to Death any of our Order. He was not contented to oblige himself by Oath, but would have a Decree of the Senate, by virtue of which those Emperors who should order the Death of a Senator, the Ministers of their Fury, and the Children both of one and the other, were to be declar'd Enemies of the State. Yet he was the first that infring'd this Law in putting to Death several Senators, and among others *Julius Solon*, by whose hand it was written. He did several other things that very much displeas'd the Senators, and the rest of the Citizens. Particularly, I have known some who blam'd him for having Guards of Foreigners, and filling the City with Soldiers of terrible Aspects, and intractable in their way of Living, and for dismissing those his Predecessors had entertain'd till then, who came either out of *Italy*, *Spain*, *Macedon* or *Bavaria*, which Countries produce Men of an agreeable Aspect, and conversable Temper.

*Severus* long before he came to the Empire, had Presages of his future Greatness. When he was first receiv'd in the Senate, he dreamt that he suck'd a Wolf like *Romulus*. When he married *Julia*, he imagin'd in his Sleep that *Faustina* the Wife of *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperor, prepar'd his Marriage-bed in the Temple of *Venus*, near the Palace. Another time he thought his Hand was a Spring, from whence there issued a vast quantity of Water. Yet more, at the time he was *Pretor* at *Lyons*, he dreamt that the whole *Roman* Army came to compliment him. Another time he fancied he was carried to a very high place, from whence he discover'd the vast Machine of Earth and Sea, and having touch'd it, it return'd a most agreeable sound like an Instrument of Musick. He likewise thought that he had mounted a Horse with ease in a publick place of *Rome*, that would not suffer *Pertinax*, but had thrown him to the Ground. Besides all these Dreams, *Severus* had done an Action in his Youth, which might have been regarded as a sign of his future Greatness, which was his seating himself through  
inad-

inadvertency in the Emperor's Chair. But to have done with these Matters, as soon as he was plac'd in the Empire, as I have related, he order'd a Monument to be erected in honour of *Pertinax*, like one of those that us'd to be rais'd to such as were admitted into the number of the Gods, and directed that his name should be us'd in the publick Prayers, and in Oaths. He likewise commanded his Statue of Gold to be brought into the *Circus*, upon a Chariot drawn by Elephants, and three Golden Thrones to be erected to his honour in the other Theatres.

The Ceremony of the Funeral of *Pertinax*, though he had been long dead, was as follows. A stately Mausoleum was set up in the publick Place, with Stairs of Wood above those of Stone, and over that an Edifice without Walls, supported by Columns of Ivory enrich'd with Gold. The Bed was cover'd with Purple embroider'd with Gold, and about it were the Heads of all sorts of Land and Sea Animals. Upon the Bed was a Waxed Image of *Pertinax*, represented in a triumphal Habit. A handsome youth defended it from the Flies

with a Fan of Peacocks Feathers, as it was customary when *Pertinax* was alive and asleep. *Severus*, the Senators and their Wives came in mourning Habits upon the place where this Representation was, the Senators sat down discover'd, and their Wives with their faces cover'd under the Galleries. After we were plac'd in this manner, the Pomp began in the following order. First, the Statues of the most Illustrious *Romans* of Antiquity pass'd by, after them Quires of Children and Men that sung mournful Airs upon the Death of the late Emperor. Then appear'd all the Nations that were Subjects of the Empire, represented by Statues of Brass in proper Habits, and then Citizens of all Conditions ; after them the Heralds, and other Officers of that kind. Next pass'd by the Statues of Men, who had been famous in their Professions. Then arm'd Men on foot and Horseback, the War-horses, and the rest of the Equipages that had been furnish'd either by the Emperor, or the Senators, by the Ladies, by the most considerable Knights, and by the Communities of Cities. At last was carried an Altar of Gold adorn'd with



with Ivory and Jewels brought from the *Indies*. When all this State was pass'd in this order, *Severus* spoke the Funeral Oration. We interrupted him several times by our Acclamations and Sighs, but we redoubled them when he had made an end of speaking, for we could not be weary of publishing the Praises of the deceas'd Prince, and of expressing our grief for his loss. When they were preparing to take up the Bed, we set up a terrible mournful noise. It was lifted up by the Priests and the Magistrates, as well those who were then in Office, as those that were design'd for the following year. They gave it to the Knights who bore it along. Some of our Order walk'd before it, and among them some that were unfeignedly touch'd with Grief, and others that mix'd their Voices with the sound of Flutes, to form a mournful Consort. The Emperor was the last of the Company. We came in this order to the field of *Mars*, where there was a Pile prepar'd in form of a Tower, triangular, adorn'd with Ivory, Gold, and Statues. On the top was a Golden Char, that *Pertinax* was wont to sit in.

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After they had put every thing on the Pile that was necessary for the Funeral, the Bed was plac'd upon it. *Severus* and the Relations of *Pertinax* having kiss'd the Waxon Image, *Severus* ascended his Throne, and the Senators the Scaffolds that had been prepar'd for them, that they might see the Ceremony without danger or inconvenience. The Magistrates and Knights were afterwards plac'd, every one in his Rank. The Soldiers both Foot and Horse, made several tours about the Pile, to which at length the Consuls set fire, after which an Eagle that had been fix'd to it flew up to the Clouds; and thus *Pertinax* was put into the number of the Gods.

When *Severus* had perform'd these Honours to the Memory of his Predecessor, he applied himself to the War he had to sustain against *Niger* his Competitor for the Sovereign Power. He was by Original an *Italian*, of the Body of the *Roman* Knights, who having nothing in him that was extraordinary either in his Vertues or Defects, could not furnish ample matter for Praise, or for Blame. He had several Lieutenants, among whom *Emilian* excell'd by his experience

perience in the Art of War, by his capacity for Business, and the advantageous testimony that several foreign Nations had given of his Merit. *Niger* went immediately to *Byzantium*, then led his Army to *Perinthus*, where having receiv'd some unlucky Presages, he was struck with a great Consternation. An Eagle, it seems, that had perch'd upon a Soldier's Statue, could not be driven away, but stay'd till she was taken. Yet more, some Bees had swarm'd upon his Standards, and upon his own Statues. These signs that appear'd ominous to him, having oblig'd him to return to *Byzantium*, *Emilian* his Lieutenant came to blows with the Generals of *Severus*, was defeated, and slain. There was after that another very sharp and doubtful Battel in the Straits of *Nice* and *Cios*, in which *Niger's* Army fought without giving ground in an open Plain, and that of *Severus* upon the Hills, till *Niger's* Men got into some Vessels that were in a Neighbouring Lake, and from thence pour'd upon the Enemy. The Troops of *Severus*, which *Candidus* commanded, at first got the advantage by favour of the  
 Posts

Posts they had gain'd. But the Army of *Niger* being animated by his Presence, repuls'd that of *Severus*, and got the better in their turn. When *Candidus* perceiv'd that his Men began to fly, he reproach'd those who carried the Standards with Cowardice, and commanded them to return against the Enemy. Shame giving life to their Courage, they fell briskly upon the Troops of *Niger*, defeated them, and had entirely cut them to pieces, if they had not made their escape to a neighbouring City by favour of the Night.

There was still another very sharp and very obstinate fight at *Pylus*, between the Army of *Severus* commanded by *Valerian* and *Anulin*, and that of *Niger* commanded by himself. The place where this Battel was fought was call'd *Pylus* in *Cilicia*, as I have said, because on one side it was surrounded with very rough Mountains, and on the other with Precipices that extend themselves to the very Sea. *Niger* had dispos'd his Army upon a Hill that was strong by situation. He had plac'd in the Vanguard his heavy Troops, and behind them the Archers and Slingers, to the  
end,

end that the one might stop the Enemy by their firmness, and the others draw upon them at a distance. He was safe on one side by Precipices, which as I have said, extend to the Sea, and on the other by a Forest, whose entrance was very thick, and of difficult access. He put the Baggage behind the Army to deprive Cowards of the means of flight. *Anulin* having observ'd this order of the Enemies Army, made a disposition of that of *Severus* in this manner. He put in the Van his heavy Troops, and behind all those that were lightly arm'd. He sent all his Horse under the conduct of *Valerian* to surround the Forest, if 'twere possible. In the beginning of the fight the Army of *Severus* dispos'd themselves in form of the *Tortoise*, and made it long depending. A little after *Niger's* Army seem'd to get the better by a superiority of Forces, and the advantage of several Posts he had possess'd himself of, and 'tis not to be doubted, but he had got an entire Victory, if in the midst of a mighty calm the Clouds had not gather'd of a sudden, and caus'd a terrible Storm, in which Lightning, Thunder,

Wind



Wind and Rain were mingled, and darted as 'twere upon the faces of *Niger's* Men, without incommoding those of *Severus*. This accident rais'd the Courage of the one, by perswading them that the Gods fought on their side, and depress'd that of the other, by letting them see that Heaven was against them. Thus one side fought above their strength, and the other lost their strength by fear. When *Niger's* Troops began to fly, *Valerian* appearing stop'd them, but *Anulin* falling upon them on another side at the same time, they began agen to fly, and to disperse themselves on all sides. The Slaughter was very great, and there remain'd upon the place twenty thousand Men of *Niger's* Party. 'Tis said, this defeat had been foretold to a Priest in a Dream. While *Severus* was in *Pannonia*, a Priest of *Jupiter* dreamt he saw a black Man fall upon his Army, which Man was afterwards cut to pieces. The City of *Antioch* being taken soon after, *Niger* found means to escape, and to retire towards the *Euphrates*, where he hop'd he should be safe, but being pursued and taken by the Troops of *Severus*, he lost his Head.

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The Emperor order'd it to be carried to *Byzantium*, and fix'd to a Cross, that the Inhabitants of that place might be excited by such a spectacle to come over to his Party.

When *Severus* had got the Victory, he condemn'd those who had followed *Niger*. There was among them a Senator, whose name was *Cassius Clena*, who at the very time he was condemn'd, spoke to him with abundance of Liberty. ' Without being tied, said he to ' him, by any particular engagement ' either to you or *Niger*, I happen'd to ' be of his Party, and I obey'd the ne- ' cessity of the time, which engag'd me ' rather in pursuit of *Julianus*, than to ' make War upon you. I have there- ' fore committed no fault, neither when ' at first I follow'd your Party, nor af- ' terwards when I continued faithful to ' him whom the Gods had appointed ' for my Master. You ought not then ' to consider so much our Persons and ' our Names, as the present state of ' Affairs. You cannot condemn me, ' without condemning at the same time ' your self and your Friends. I am sen- ' sible there are no Judges on Earth, ' to

‘ to whose Authority you are subject ;  
 ‘ but yet what independance soever you  
 ‘ may ascribe to your self, you are li-  
 ‘ able notwithstanding to have your Acti-  
 ‘ ons examin’d by Posterity. Futurity  
 ‘ will not efface the Judgment which  
 ‘ the publick Voice shall pronounce a-  
 ‘ gainst you, but will continue to be-  
 ‘ lieve, that you condemn us for a Crime  
 ‘ that was nothing but a pure Misfor-  
 ‘ tune. *Severus* admir’d the generosity  
 of his Discourse, and not only gave him  
 his Life, but left him in the possession of  
 half his Estate.

The People of *Byzantium* perform’d  
 very great things, both before and af-  
 ter the Death of *Niger*. The situation  
 of their City is made very commodi-  
 ous by the Neighbourhood of the *Ter-  
 ræ Firmæ*, that encompass it on both  
 sides, and of the Sea which divides  
 them, and ’tis no less strong than Com-  
 modious. It is built upon a high Ground,  
 at the foot of which the Sea of *Pontus*  
 runs with an impetuous Motion, and  
 winding a little to the left, makes a  
 Gulph and a Port, and discharges it self  
 into the *Propontis*. The City had for-  
 merly very strong Walls. They were  
 sup-

supported by Ramparts and solid Structures. They had such a breadth, that one might walk at ease upon them, and there was a cover that made the Guard secure. There were also several great Towers with Gates, by which there was a Communication one with another. They were situated in an oblique Line with respect to each other, so that they inclos'd in some measure the space that was between them. There was likewise opposite to the *Terra firma*, a Citadel of an extream height, which made the defence of them on that side very easie. On the side of the Sea the Walls were very low, because they were sufficiently defended by the Rocks upon which they were built, and by the impetuous Current of the *Bosphorus* which pass'd beneath them, besides that the two Gates were secur'd with Chains. Yet further, the Port had two Promontories on which two Towers were built, that so entirely commanded that part of the Sea, that 'twas dangerous for strangers to appear there. But nothing was of such advantage to the situation of this City as the *Bosphorus*, whose Current infallibly drives to Land all the Ships

Ships that come into it, which makes it as dreadful to Enemies, as 'tis agreeable to Friends. Besides these Fortifications which Art and Nature had brought to *Byzantium*, it had still many other admirable provisions for its Security. The Walls were furnish'd with all sorts of Machines, some of which were proper to be charg'd with great pieces of Wood and Stones, to be us'd against an approaching Enemy, others with little Stones, Darts and Javelins for those who were at greater distance, so that it was not possible to remain out of the place without being expos'd to very great danger. There were also your Grapling-Irons, or Iron-hands that might be thrown out of a sudden, and drawn back with an equal Celerity. The greatest part of these Machines and Vessels had been made by *Priscus* my Country-man, whose Life was sav'd by *Severus* in consideration of his Art. For hearing that he was condemn'd, and that he was excellent in Mechanicks and Fortifications, he put a stop to the Execution, and afterwards made use of him in several Military Expeditions, and principally in the Siege of *Atra*, where his  
Ma-



Machines were too hard for the Artificial fires of the Besieged.

The People of *Byzantium* had about five hundred Vessels, whereof the greatest part had but one Oar. Some few of them had a pair of Oars. Some had a double Steerage, one at the Prow, and the other at the Stern, and two Pilots to advance and retreat with more celerity, and to be always ready to surprize the Enemy. The Inhabitants of this City made themselves admir'd for the examples they afforded both for Valour in Attacks, and Constancy in their Miseries, when they sustain'd a three years Siege against the Fleets of the whole Universe. I shall here relate some of their most remarkable Actions. They surpriz'd a great number of Vessels that sail'd into their Neighbourhood, and made themselves Masters of them by a superior dexterity in attacking them. They took some Gallies in the very Ports of their Enemies, having cut their Cables, and fasten'd them to their own Boats, by which means they drew them along into Harbour. Sometimes they took Merchant-Men by Correspondence, that pre-

S tended

tended to have been taken by force, and after they had given them an overgreat price for their Effects, they set them at Liberty. When they had spent all their Provisions, and were severely press'd by the Besiegers without hopes of any relief, they continued to defend themselves with the utmost Vigour. They pull'd down their Houses to repair their Boats, and made use of their Wives Hair for Cordage. When they saw the Besiegers lodg'd upon the Body of the Wall, they lanc'd upon them with their Machines charg'd with great Stones, for which they had demolish'd their Theatre, their Statues, and other Figures of curious Workmanship. When their Provisions were quite consum'd they fed upon Leather, and when that was gone, they put to Sea at the stormy season of the year when no Enemies were to be found, resolv'd either to get Food, or an occasion to die. Thus landing where they could, they laid the Country waste, and carried off every thing they could meet with. When those who remain'd in the City felt themselves press'd with extream Hunger, they had recourse to the strangest piece

piece of Inhumanity that ever entred into the minds of Men; they fought with one another through a desperate necessity of being reduc'd either to die, or to feed upon each other's Bodies. Some of them, who abhorr'd so barbarous a thing, embark'd in their Boats to try to save themselves, and put to Sea in a dreadful Storm. But they were unsuccessful in their Enterprize, for the *Romans* seeing them dispers'd by the violence of the Winds and Waves, and observing that their Vessels were so heavy laden, that they could scarce bear up above Water, fell in with them, and destroy'd them without fighting, by the violence of the Shocks they gave them. How eager soever these miserable People were to defend themselves, they were depriv'd of all possible means of doing it. If they attempted to make their escape, they were either founder'd at Sea by the violence of the Storms, or taken by the *Romans*. The Inhabitants, who saw from the top of their Walls this dismal Spectacle, fill'd the Air with Lamentations, and invoc'd the assistance of Heaven. But when they saw that all their Ships were destroy'd

or taken, they plung'd themselves in Tears, and during the rest of the Day and the following Night, abandon'd themselves to Grief and Despair. The Sea was cover'd with Wrecks, and wafted to the Islands, and as far as *Asia* the deplorable remnants of this Shipwrack, sooner than they could any other way receive intelligence of it. The next day represented the Image of this fatal accident more dreadful, than it had appear'd during the obscurity of the Night, in discovering a prodigious quantity of Blood, and a confus'd heap of dead Bodies that infected the Shoar. This unhappy City being thus constrain'd to yield, the Soldiers and Persons of Note were put to the Sword. There was a Wrestler who had done great service during the Siege, and had extreamly incommoded the Besiegers. This Man having by some oversight been left out of the number of those who were put to the Sword, was determin'd to die with the rest, and for that purpose struck a *Roman* Soldier, and kick'd another, to the end that by such a Provocation they might kill him, which they did. *Severus*, who was then in *Mesopotamia*,  
was

was so transported with the news of the Surrender of this City, that he said to his Officers, who were about him, with a particular Emphasis, ‘ At last we have taken *Byzantium*. He depriv’d it of its Rights and Franchises, impos’d a Tribute upon it, confiscated the Estates of the Citizens, and made them subject to those of *Perinthus*, who made a very insolent use of this Advantage. How just soever this Punishment might appear that *Severus* inflicted upon this conquer’d People, they laid it extreamly to heart, because by demolishing their Walls, they were depriv’d of the satisfaction and pride they were wont to take, when they shew’d them to Strangers who us’d to admire their Magnificence. It is to be confess’d likewise that when *Severus* destroy’d them, he ruin’d the Bulwark that cover’d the *Romans* from the incursions of the *Barbarians*, and the Fort from whence the *Barbarians* had seen the *Romans* break out to make Irruptions upon them. I have seen the Ruines, which appear’d to me as deplorable, as if they had been caus’d not by *Romans*, but by the most barbarous and inhuman People on the



Earth. I had seen the Works of this City before they were demolish'd, and had heard the famous Eccho there. There were from the *Thracian* Gate to the Sea seven Towers, the first of which made such a reverberation of a Sound, that if one spoke or made any other noise within it, the Noise or Voice was carried to the second, from thence to the third, and so to the rest in the same order. But if one spoke or made any noise in any of them but the first, they would not return the Sound.

During the Siege of *Byzantium* *Severus*, through the single Motive of Glory, undertook a War against the *Osroenians*, the *Adiabeniens*, and the *Arabians*. When he had pass'd the *Euphrates*, he found a Country so extreemly parch'd with the heats of the Sun, that he ran the risque of losing the greatest part of his Army there. Lassitude, Heat, and Dust incommoded them to that degree, that being no longer able to march or speak, they had but just strength enough left to say in a feeble tone, Water, Water. A Spring appear'd at length, and *Severus* no less astonish'd than before, call'd for a Cup and drank in sight of

of the whole Army, which afterwards by drinking of it recover'd their Spirits. *Severus* going to *Nisibis* continued there, and sent *Laternus*, *Candidus*, and *Letus* into the Countries of the People I have mention'd, who laid them waste, and took their Cities. The happy success of this Expedition, made the Emperor so excessively vain, that he took it for granted he excell'd all Mankind in Prudence and Valour. While he was entertaining himself with such swelling Thoughts, there happen'd a very strange Accident to him. A famous Robber call'd *Claudius*, who had made himself formidable in *Judæa* and *Syria*, and had been very strictly search'd for but in vain, came and presented himself to him at the head of a Troop of Horse, as if he had been a Tribune, made him a Compliment, and return'd without being discover'd, or even taken afterwards. The *Scythians* intending at the same time to take Arms, were diverted from it by a Tempest that rose during their Consultations, and which was attended with violent Rain, Thunder and Lightning, whereby three of the chief Men of their Nation were kill'd. *Se-*

*verus* dividing his Army a second time into three Bodies, gave one to *Letus*, another to *Anulin*, and the third to *Probus*, and detach'd them to three Places of the Empire, which they maintain'd with much difficulty. He bestow'd great Priviledges upon *Nisibis*, and the Government of it upon a *Roman* Knight. He boasted of having conquer'd a vast extent of Land, which he had made a Bulwark to cover *Syria*. But the Event has but too well made known, that this Conquest has been more burthensom than useful, since it has engag'd us in continual Wars, and prodigious Expences.

These foreign Wars had so wholly taken up his thoughts, that he had scarce any respite before he found himself engag'd in a Civil War with *Albinus*, to whom, after he had defeated *Niger*, and dispos'd his Affairs according to his desire, he would not grant the Title of *Cæsar*, nor the Honours annex'd to that Title, though the other gave him to understand, that he could not be satisfied without them, and pretended to share with him the Imperial Dignity. We of the Senate liv'd in peace amidst  
the

the bustle of Arms that mov'd the Universe, and without siding with any Party, were contented to declare our Sentiments to our most familiar Friends, and to communicate our Hopes and Fears one to another. The People were not so moderate, and could not forbear publishing their discontent. For when they were assembled in great numbers to see the Sports of the *Circus* upon the last day that preceded the *Saturnalia*, I went thither in Person with the Consul who was my Friend, and carefully observ'd all that pass'd, which enables me to make a very faithful relation of it. The People saw several Chariot-courses, six against six, as 'twas practis'd in the time of *Cleander*, and saw them without their usual Acclamations. As soon as this course was over, and they were preparing to begin a second, all the People who had observ'd till then a profound Silence, clap'd their Hands of a sudden, and call'd aloud for some good wishes in favour of the State. After they had wish'd Eternal Happiness to *Rome*, and call'd it Imperial City, and Immortal, they cried out, 'How  
' long must we live in this miserable  
' Con-



\* Condition, and sustain such cruel Wars? They said other things of the like nature, and then applied themselves to the Sports again. It look'd as if they had been excited by some *Genius* to make those Exclamations, especially since 'tis in a manner impossible, humanly speaking, that such numbers of People should agree to pronounce at the same instant the same Words, and the same Syllables. But if we were surpriz'd at these popular Acclamations, we were yet more amaz'd at the flames that appear'd in the Night towards the North, which seem'd to threaten *Rome* and the Heavens themselves with a general Conflagration. But nothing astonish'd us so much as a shower of Rain of the colour of Silver, that fell in the Street of *Augustus*. I did not see it fall, but I examin'd it carefully after it fell, and blanch'd some pieces of Tin with it, which preserv'd their Whiteness but three days, and chang'd again to their natural colour.

*Numerian*, a Schoolmaster in *Rome*, going upon some occasion into *Gaul*, pretended to be a Senator sent by *Severus* to levy Troops, actually rais'd some,  
defeated



defeated a Party of Horse that belong'd to *Albinus*, and did some other memorable Actions. *Severus* believing he was indeed a Senator, wrote to him, commended his Valour, and encourag'd him to raise more Troops. Thereupon augmenting his numbers he perform'd still greater Exploits, and got a Mass of Treasure that amounted to seven thousand seven hundred and fifty Drachma's, which he sent to the Emperor. Coming afterwards to wait upon him he frankly told him the truth, and in stead of desiring to be preferr'd to the Dignity of a Senator, would accept of neither Riches nor Honours in consideration of his Services, and was contented to live in the Country upon a very moderate Revenue, which he receiv'd from the Emperor's Generosity.

The Battel between the two Competitors for the Empire, was fought near *Lyons*. There were fifty thousand Men of a side, with *Severus* and *Albinus* at the Head of them, for in all appearance this Battel was to determine not only their Fortunes, but their Lives. *Severus* had never been present in an Engagement before. Yet he surpass'd *Al-*  
*binus*

*binus* in experience of War, as he was exceeded by him in Birth and Learning. In the first encounter *Albinus* had the advantage over *Lupus*, one of the Lieutenants of *Severus*, and had cut off great part of his Men. The second had a mixture of different and reciprocal Successes. The left Wing of *Albinus's* Army was at the first shock put into disorder and routed. Now while *Severus's* Men, instead of pursuing them, stopt short to plunder their Baggage and Equipage, the Enemy having Ditches before them cover'd with Earth and Leafs, advanc'd upon the very borders of them, gave a Volley of Arrows, and retir'd out of a seeming fear. The Soldiers of *Severus's* Army being provok'd at this Attack, and at the same time despising the retreat that follow'd it, advanc'd towards them with eager hast, as if the Ground had been firm and secure, and fell directly into the Snare. The next that follow'd them fell upon them. They who were backward enough to stop and retreat, broke the Ranks of those who were behind. There was a very great destruction of Men and Horses that fell into these Ditches.

They

They who were beyond them were gall'd by the Darts to which they were expos'd. *Severus* hearing of the danger they were in, advanc'd at the Head of his Guards to give them Succour. But in stead of bringing any Relief, he expos'd himself and his Troops to the hazard of being all cut off. His Horse was kill'd under him, and his Person thus dismounted ran a very great risque. When he saw his Men routed, he rent his Cloaths, and threw himself in the midst of them Sword in Hand, to bring them back to the charge by his example, and the sting of his Reproaches, or at least to be involv'd in their Misfortune. Some of them aw'd by his Presence stop'd, and facing about fell foul upon one of their own Parties, whom they mistook for their Foes. Then they attack'd their real Enemies, pursued them in their turn, and put them to the rout. The Horse commanded by *Letus* charg'd them in Flank at the same time, and finish'd the Defeat. This *Letus* had been unconcern'd in the Action as long as the event appear'd doubtful, in hopes that *Severus* and *Albinus* would destroy each other, and that  
those

those Soldiers who should survive the Battel might choose him Emperor. But when he saw that *Severus* had won the Field, he pursu'd his Enemies, and finish'd the great Decision.

This War extreamly diminish'd the Forces of the Empire, and took off so vast a number of Men on both sides, that the very Conquerors mourn'd for their Victory. The Field of Battel was cover'd with dead and wounded Bodies, and others that without wounds lay as 'twere buried under a confus'd heap of Arms and mangled Members. Streams of Blood swell'd the River, and chang'd its colour. *Albinus* fled to a House near the *Rhone*. But when he found it invested he slew himself. I relate the matter just as it pass'd, and not as *Severus* was pleas'd to describe it. He look'd very attentively upon *Albinus's* Body, and shew'd by the motion of his Eyes, and by his Expressions, the satisfaction he took in seeing it, then commanding the Trunk to be expos'd, he sent the Head to *Rome*, and order'd it to be fix'd to a Cross. The barbarity of this Action demonstrated, that he had not one quality of a good Prince. But his haught-

ty



ty way of writing to the Senate and People after the Victory, made it yet more manifest. For while he was still in Arms, he vented upon unarm'd People all the venom of Indignation and Anger, that had long been gathering in his Heart. Nothing frightened us so much, as the fancy he took to be call'd the Son of *Marcus Aurelius*, and Brother of *Commodus*. Yet further, he bestow'd Divine Honours upon the last, tho' he had formerly blackned his Memory. As he was one day reading in the Senate a Discourse which he had compos'd, in which after he had commended the Rigour and Cruelty of *Sylla*, *Marius*, and *Augustus*, as the only means to preserve an Absolute Power, and blam'd the Sweetness and Clemency of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* as dangerous qualities that had caus'd their Destruction, he undertook the defence of *Commodus*, and made a severe Invective against the Senate that had dishonour'd him. ' Several among  
' you, said he to us, lead more infamous and criminal Lives, than he did.  
' If it be thought strange that he should  
' employ himself in killing Beasts with  
' his own Hand, has not an ancient  
' Con-



‘ Consul been seen very lately to divert  
 ‘ himself publickly at *Ostia* with a Wench  
 ‘ in disguise? And if *Commodus* some-  
 ‘ times fought with *Gladiators*, are there  
 ‘ none among you addicted to the same  
 ‘ Exercise? Wherefore then have some  
 ‘ Persons bought his Bucklers, his Hel-  
 ‘ mets, and his other Arms?

After he had made this Speech, he  
 pardon’d five and thirty of the princi-  
 pal Senators, who were accus’d of fa-  
 vouring *Albinus*’s side, and employ’d  
 them in the same manner, as if they  
 had been exempt from all suspicion.  
 But he condemn’d nine and twenty o-  
 thers to Death, among whom was *Sul-*  
*pitian* Father-in-Law to *Pertinax*.

After that he turn’d his Arms against  
 the *Parthians*, who while he was taken  
 up in the Civil War, had possess’d them-  
 selves of *Mesopotamia*, and laid Siege to  
*Nisibis*, which they had taken but for the  
 vigorous resistance which *Letus* made to  
 defend it. *Letus* by this Action encreas’d  
 the Reputation which his excellent Qua-  
 lities had gain’d him, being lookt upon  
 as one of the first Men in *Rome*, and  
 one of the most capable of serving the  
 Empire either in War or Peace.

When

When *Severus* was arriv'd at *Nisibis*, he there saw a wild Boar of a prodigious bigness that had slain a Man on Horieback, who trusting to his strength had undertaken to attack him. This Boar was pursued and kill'd by thirty Soldiers, and brought to the Emperor. The *Parthians*, who liv'd under the Government of *Vologeses*, whose Brother was with *Severus*, instead of waiting for the Emperor retir'd into their own Country. He sail'd upon the *Euphrates* with all Expedition, attended by a great number of Vessels, took the Cities of *Seleucia* and *Babylon* that were deserted. He also took that of *Ctesiphon*, gave it up to plunder, made a prodigious destruction in it, and yet sav'd the Lives of a hundred thousand Persons whom he led into Captivity. Nevertheless he did not preserve this last City, but left it as if he had reduc'd it only with a design to ruine it. Soon alter he quitted the Country, whose situation he was not sufficiently acquainted with, and where he found nothing that was necessary for him. He return'd by a different way, because he had consum'd all the Wood, Hay and Forrage that he found in the

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way

way he came. Part of the Foot march'd back upon the Banks of the *Tygris*, and the rest went by Water. When he had pass'd through *Mesopotamia*, he laid Siege to *Atra*, but in stead of taking it, had the displeasure to see part of his Machines burnt, and a great number of his Men kill'd and wounded. During this War he put to Death two of the most considerable Men of the Empire. One was *Julius Crispus* Tribune of the Guards, who being fatigu'd with the hardships of his Office had repeated a Verse in *Virgil*, in which a Soldier complain'd that *Turnus* sacrific'd a great number of valiant Men to his Passion, and expos'd them to Death only to get *Livinia* for his Wife. A Soldier nam'd *Valerius*, who was likewise his Accuser, obtain'd his Post. *Letus* was the other whom *Severus* put to death through a motive of Jealousie upon the score of his Vertues, and a Declaration of the Soldiers that they would not serve but under his Conduct.

*Severus* having made great preparations for War, laid Siege a second time to the City of *Atra*, whose resistance seem'd insupportable at a time when all  
the

the rest had submitted to the yoke. But he was as unsuccessful in this second Attempt, as he had been in the first. He was at a prodigious expence in vain, lost all his Machines except those which *Priscus* had made, and the choicest of his Troops. A great number were slain as they were foraging, for then the Cavalry of the *Arabians* fell upon them with an incredible Celerity, and the Inhabitants of *Atra* pour'd their Darts upon them at a distance at the same time. But the most considerable loss was at the Wall when the *Roman* Army made their Approaches, and had beat down part of it. For then the Besieged gall'd them with *Naphta*, which consum'd Men and Machines in an instant. *Severus* had the mortification to be an Eye-witness of this sad Accident from an advanc'd ground where he was posted. Part of the Wall falling down, the Soldiers advanc'd to enter the Town, but *Severus* order'd a retreat to be sounded, in hopes that the *Arabians* to escape being plunder'd, would discover to him a Treasure that lay conceal'd in their City, and contain'd the Presents which had been made to the Temple of the Sun.



But when he saw that a whole day was pass'd without any offer from the Inhabitants to surrender, he gave orders for another Assault, though the Wall had been repair'd in the Night. The *European* Soldiers refusing to go upon the Attack, the *Syrians* were compell'd to that Service, and were repuls'd with very great loss. Thus Providence, that had a mind to save the City, made use of *Severus* upon this occasion to restrain the Soldiers who were at first impatient to take it, and afterwards of their disobedience to render his second orders ineffectual. In the first Encounter, which is that I am now speaking of, this Prince was so irresolute, that one of his Officers undertaking to make him Master of *Atra*, provided he would spare him but five hundred and fifty *European* Soldiers, he answer'd in the presence of several Persons, that he could not furnish him with such a number. Which implied, that he was not secure of the Fidelity of those who were in his Service. After he had continued twenty days before the place, he broke up for *Palestine*, where he rendred Funeral Honours to *Pompey* the Great. Then he  
made



made a progress to *Egypt*, where his curiosity was so active, that nothing could escape his Enquiries. He made an exact search into their most hidden Mysteries, their Laws and Religion. He took away with him all the Books that contain'd any conceal'd Doctrine. He seal'd up *Alexander's* Tomb, that no body might see his Body, or read what was written upon it. I shall say nothing here of the rest of *Egypt*, but because I have taken particular care to inform my self by different methods of what relates to the *Nile*, I cannot excuse my self from making some report of it.

It visibly takes its rise from Mount *Atlas*, which is a Mountain near the Ocean on the west side. This Mountain is infinitely higher than all the rest upon the Earth, which gave the Poets occasion to feign that it supported the Heavens. Never did any body ascend to the top of it. 'Tis cover'd with Snow at all times, and in Summer discharges a prodigious quantity of Water. The foot of this Hill is Marshy, and from these Morasses proceeds the *Nile*, as it appears by the Crocodiles that breed there, as well as in the course of the

River. For what remains, no body ought to wonder that I should pretend to discover a secret of Nature which was unknown to the ancient *Greeks*, for I had an easie opportunity of informing my self by conversing with some of the *Macennites*, who are borderers upon the lower *Mauritania*, and send Troops as far as Mount *Atlas*. This is what I had to say upon this Subject.

In the mean time *Plautian*, who was in greater credit with the Emperor than any other, and was in possession of the charge of *Præfectus Prætorio*, put to Death several of the most considerable Men in the Empire. There was not a Man of Substance, whose Estate he did not fleece some way or other. There was not a Nation or City that was free from his Extortions. He receiv'd greater and more frequent Presents than *Severus* himself. He sent some Officers into the Islands of the Red Sea, to fetch Horses that were consecrated to the Sun, and resembled Tygers. This single Action suffices to shew the excess of his Avarice. Yet I'll add another which may serve as a proof of his Power, as well as of his ill Nature. He invited to his House a  
hundred

hundred Citizens of good Families, and had them all Castrated. He not only us'd Boys in this manner, but married Men, that the number of his Daughter *Plautilla's* Eunuchs might be increas'd. She was afterwards Married to *Antoninus* the Emperors Son. I have seen some of those Men, who were at once Eunuchs, Husbands, Fathers, and had Beards. An action so unheard of, was not divulg'd till after the Death of *Plautian*. It shews that he had a more absolute Power than any other Subject, and perhaps than *Severus* himself. 'Tis certain that at *Rome* and other Cities, Private Men, Corporations, and the very Senate erected more of his Statues, than of the Emperor's. The Soldiers and the Senators swore by his Fortune, and made publick Wishes for his safety. The liberty that *Severus* had given him, and that rose to such an Excess, that you would have taken *Plautian* for the Emperor, and *Severus* for the *Prefect*, was doubtless the reason that made him exceed all bounds. He was very exactly inform'd of all the Actions and Words of the Emperor, who knew nothing of his Conduct or Design. He

married his Son to the Daughter of *Plautian*, whom he preferr'd before the most beautiful, and the most accomplish'd Ladies of the Empire. He design'd *Plautian* for the Consulship, and almost wish'd he might succeed him, and wrote of him one day in these terms: ' I love him, and wish he may survive me. But if some certain things seem'd to lessen his Credit, there were others of much more Importance, that increas'd it. *Severus* going to visit him while he was sick at *Tiano*, his Guards would not suffer those of the Emperor to follow him into the House. One, that by the Duty of his Place was oblig'd to keep a List of the Causes that were to be heard before the Emperor, having receiv'd orders one day from *Severus* to summon the Advocates before him at such an Hour, this Officer had the Insolence to refuse to obey him, and told him that he could not appoint a Court till he was commanded by *Plautian*. This is an unquestionable Instance, to prove that he had a more absolute Power than the Emperor. What I shall add, will serve to confirm it still more. He accus'd the Empress to his face, examin'd several Persons

Persons upon Interrogatories, and put them to the Rack to oblige them to depose against her, and other Ladies of Quality. This Princess being thus accus'd, sought relief by reading the Philosophers, and conversing with the most famous Orators, while *Plautian* was plung'd in all manner of Luxury and Excess. He abandon'd himself to the love of Women and young Men, became a publick scandal in his Pleasures, yet would not give his Wife the liberty of seeing any Person whatsoever, not even the Emperor or Empress. There was at that time a Combat of *Gladiators*, in which the Combatants were so numerous, that the Lists could not contain them, and Women appear'd with Arms, and fought with an extraordinary Vigour, affronting the Ladies of Quality who saw them ; for which there was an order to prohibit Women from fighting in that manner for the time to come.

*Severus* not approving of the prodigious number of Statues erected in honour of *Plautian* in all parts of the Empire, commanded some of them to be remov'd ; which giving occasion to believe



lieve he was disgrac'd, the Inhabitants of certain Cities broke others of his Statues in pieces, for which they were afterwards punish'd. *Ratius Constans* a Man of Reputation, who was at that time Governor of *Sardinia*, was of the number. That which engages me chiefly to relate this Fact is this, that among other things which the Advocate of the other side advanc'd against *Constans*, he said, that ' We should sooner see the ' Heavens fall, than see the Emperor use *Plautian* ill. This Discourse and several others of the like nature, found the more easie credit with us, because *Severus* had assur'd us as we were sitting with him to hear Causes, ' That 'twas impossible he should ever do *Plautian* any prejudice. The truth of which we shall know by the Sequel. *Severus* being come to the tenth year of his Reign, gave to the People and his Guards as many pieces of Gold *per* Head, as he had enjoy'd years on the Imperial Throne. He was very proud of this Donative, which was indeed very extraordinary, surpassing those of all his Predecessors, and amounting to a thousand Drachma's.

At

At the same time *Antoninus* the Son of *Severus*, was married to *Plautilla* the Daughter of *Plautian*. The Portion her Father gave her was so immense, that 'twould have been sufficient for fifty Daughters of Kings. We saw part of the Equipages and other things that compos'd it, pass through the *Forum* towards the Palace, where we were invited to a Feast that partook both of the Magnificence of Kings, and the grossness of *Barbarians*: For there was a mixture of all sorts of Meat, boil'd, and raw, and of Animals still living. After which there were Sports upon the occasion of the return of *Severus*, the tenth year of his Reign, and the Success of his Arms. There were sixty Wild-boars given by *Plautian* to fight one with another, abundance of other Beasts were kill'd at this Solemnity, particularly an Elephant and an *Indian* call'd a *Crocot*, which I believe was the first of the kind that was ever seen at *Rome*.

Its colour partakes of that of the Lion, and that of the Tyger, and the formation of its parts has something of the Dog, and something of the Fox. There was a kind of a Cloyster made in the  
*Amphi-*

*Amphitheatre* in form of a Ship to receive them. Of a sudden there issued out Bears, Lions, Ostridges, wild Asses, and foreign Bulls. Seven hundred Beasts wild and tame fought one with another, and were afterwards shot with Darts. There was a hundred kill'd each of the seven days, during which the publick Diversions lasted. There appear'd at the same time a great fire upon Mount *Vesuvius*, and it made so prodigious a noise, that it was heard at *Capua*, which is the place of my retirement when I am in *Italy*, in order to pursue the course of this History by favour of the leisure this place affords me free from the noise and bustle of *Rome*. The accident at Mount *Vesuvius* seem'd to presage some change, and this change related to the fortune of *Plautian*. He was rais'd to that prodigious height, that the People said to him one day in the *Circus*, 'What  
' reason have you to tremble and look  
' pale? You are richer than all three  
' together. They did not speak this so loud, as to be heard by him, but among themselves. Now the three they spoke of were *Severus*, *Antoninus* and *Geta* his two Sons. The trembling and pale-

paleness of *Plautian*, proceeded from his course of Life, and the diversity of his hopes and fears. *Severus* either knew nothing of his Conduct, or seem'd to be unacquainted with it. But when he understood it from the Mouth of *Geta* his Brother, he could not disguise it any longer. When this *Geta* found his end approaching, and had nothing more to apprehend from the favour or malice of *Plautian*, he thought himself oblig'd to evacuate the hatred he bore him, and to declare to *Severus* his Brother what he knew of his Designs.

*Severus* erected in the *Forum* a Statue of Brass to the Honour of *Geta*, and began to regard his Favourite less than he was wont, and to seek occasions to lessen his Power. *Plautian* stung at this alteration, imputed it to the Intrigues of *Antoninus* his Son-in-Law, between whom there was already an ill understanding, upon the account of the ill treatment he gave *Plantilla* his Daughter, and reveng'd himself by a very rude and affronting behaviour towards him. *Antoninus* not being able to bear either the Insolence of his Wife, or the freedom which his Father-in-Law took to  
exa-

examine and censure his Actions, resolv'd to dispatch him by any means he could. He made use of *Evodus* who had been his Governor, to perswade *Saturninus* and two other Officers to go to *Severus* and inform him, that *Plautian* had engag'd them three, and seven more of their Companions to kill the Emperor and *Antoninus* his Son. The Officers perform'd their Commission, and read to *Severus* a Letter which they pretended had been written to them by *Plautian*. They took for this purpose the time when the Sports in honour of those who were admitted in the number of the Gods were upon conclusion, when the People quitted the Palace, and Supper was preparing. Tho' this Circumstance was sufficient to convict them of Calumny, because there was no likelihood that *Plautian* would venture to give orders in writing to ten Officers to assassinate the Emperor at *Rome*, within his Palace, upon a day of publick Rejoycing, in the presence of all the People; yet their Information appear'd probable to *Severus*, because the Night before he dreamt that *Albinus* had laid a Snare for him. He  
sent



sent for *Plautian* that instant, as upon some important Affair. *Plautian* went, and receiv'd by the way an intimation of the Misfortune that threatned him. For the Mules that drew his Chariot, fell down in the Court of the Palace. The Guards that kept the Gate let him enter, and kept back his Guards, as they had formerly serv'd those of *Severus* in the City of *Tiano*. This usage of his Men gave him some mistrust, but he was advanc'd too far to Retreat. The Emperor spoke to him with great gentleness. 'What is your design, said he to him, and what occasion has been given you to make an attempt upon our Lives? Then he gave him liberty to answer, and prepar'd himself to hear his reply, when *Antoninus* fell furiously upon him, took away his Sword, and struck him with his Fist. He would have kill'd him, but being prevented by the Emperor his Father, he commanded one of his Servants to do him that Office, which was done. At the same time another who was present pull'd some Hairs out of *Plautian's* Beard, and carried them to *Julia* and *Plautilla*, who were then together, and  
knew

knew nothing of the Misfortune that had happen'd to the Favourite. ' Be-  
 ' hold, said he to them, what conditi-  
 ' on your *Plautian* is in, which words  
 ' rais'd Joy in one, and plung'd the o-  
 ' ther in Grief. Thus he who had the  
 greatest Power of any Man of his time,  
 who was more formidable than the ve-  
 ry Emperors themselves, was murder'd  
 by the command of his Son-in-Law,  
 and thrown out of the Palace into the  
 Street. But *Severus* afterwards order'd  
 his Body to be taken away and buried.  
 Which done he summon'd the Senate,  
 and there in stead of making Complaints  
 against *Plautian*, ' He deplor'd the  
 ' weakness of Humanity, which in an  
 ' elevated condition was incapable of  
 ' Moderation, and condemn'd himself  
 ' for having born so great an Affection  
 ' to him that was his Favourite, and for  
 ' having lifted him to a pitch of Great-  
 ' ness, that had made him giddy. After  
 which he order'd such who had no ne-  
 cessary business in the Assembly to de-  
 part, and then directed those who had  
 discover'd the designs of *Plautian* to re-  
 peat them to the Senate; which made  
 us judge, that he laid no great stress up-  
 on

on the Accusation, since he did not think fit to explain it himself.

Several Persons were in extream danger, and some lost their Lives upon *Plautian's* account. *Ceran* had boasted of his Interest with him, as 'tis common for Men to pretend out of Vanity, to be known to those who are in Favour. 'Tis true indeed, that he us'd to crowd among those who were first introduc'd to *Plautian's* *Levéé*, and follow them every where, and though he had no share in their Conversation, he had the advantage of approaching the place where 'twas held, and to be envied by those who were excluded from it. This honour made it suspected that he had a share in the Conspiracy, and the explication he had made some days before of a Dream increas'd the Suspicion. *Plautian* having dreamt that he saw some Fishes leap out of the *Tyber*, and throw themselves at his Feet, *Ceran* presag'd from it, that he should possess the Empire of the Earth and Sea. He was banish'd for this into an Island, where he continued seven years. He was afterwards recall'd, receiv'd into the Senate, where no *Egyptian* ever sat before

fore him, and rais'd to the dignity of Consul, though he had never been in any other publick Station, no more than *Pompey* had when he was chosen to the same Dignity, which was in his time the first in the Commonwealth.

*Cecilius Agricola*, the most infamous flatterer of *Plautian*, and most impious Wretch of his time, was condemn'd to Death. As soon as he knew his Sentence, he went home, and having drank to excess of an extream cool Wine, he broke a Cup that cost fifty thousand *Drachma's*, lay down upon the remains of it, and open'd his Veins. *Saturninus* and *Evodus* receiv'd rewards at this time, but they were afterwards put to death by *Antoninus*. The Senate having made a Decree, in which *Evodus* was commended, *Severus* forbad its publication, and said to us, 'Twould be a Reflection upon your Assembly, should you speak in such terms of an Emperor's Freedman. *Severus* did not think it sufficient to put a stop to the Insolence of one, he likewise restrain'd that of all the rest of the Freedmen, who were but too forward to raise themselves above their condition, for which he deserv'd great Applause.



Applause. The Senate being lavish in his Praises one day, cried aloud, ‘ The whole *Roman* People are mindful of their Duty, because they have an Emperor that governs according to Justice and Reason. *Plautilla* and *Plautus* the Children of *Plautian*, were banish’d to the Isle of *Lipara*, where they led a miserable Life, depriv’d even of Necessaries, and threatned or press’d with yet greater hardships. They were afterwards both executed in the Reign of *Antoninus*. There was no extravagance that *Antoninus* and *Geta* the Sons of *Severus* did not run into, as soon as they had got rid of *Plautian*, as of a troublesome Governor. They dishonour’d Women of Quality, ravish’d Boys, extorted Money by all sorts of ways, and contracted a scandalous Acquaintance with *Gladiators* and *Chariot-drivers*. Though they had the same Inclinations, and were addicted to the same Exercises, yet they affected to favour different Parties, and as soon as one declar’d for one Faction, the other supported the contrary side. One day there was such an Emulation between them at a course of Chariots drawn by little



Horses, and such striving to win the Race, that *Antoninus* was over-turn'd and broke his Thigh.

In the mean time *Severus* put to death several of the chief Men of the Empire, and among others *Quintilius Plautian*, one of the most considerable of the Senate, and most illustrious for the greatness of his Birth. Though he was already advanc'd in Age, and as 'twere upon his entrance into old Age, and liv'd in the Country without being concern'd in Business, he could not escape an odious Accusation, nor a violent Death. When he was condemn'd he desir'd to see his Funeral Apparel, which had been prepar'd and laid up by his order several years before, and observing that time had worn them, he said, 'Why have we staid so long? After which he offer'd Sacrifice, and made the same Imprecation against *Severus*, that *Severian* had formerly made against *Adrian*. This was the end of that considerable Man. There was afterwards given to the People the Diversion of the Combats of *Gladiators*, at which there were Tygers shot with Darts. We saw about the same time the affair of *Apronian*,

*nian*, which was one of the strangest and most surprizing accidents that ever was heard of. He was accus'd of having a Nurse who dreamt that he should be Emperor, and of consulting the Soothsayers himself upon this occasion, and of being addicted to the secrets of Magick. Upon this ground he was condemn'd in his absence while he was in *Asia* in the quality of Governor. When the Interrogatories were read to us, and the Informations that had been given against him, we saw that the Witnesses had been ask'd whose was the Dream in question, and who was present when the Dream was told? One of the Witnesses made several Answers, in one of which he nam'd a Senator, whom he had but just seen as 'twere *en passant*, and observ'd to be a little bald. We were very much surpriz'd to hear so loose a Charge, in which there was no name express'd. There was not one of the Senators, not even of those who had never been acquainted with *Apronian*, but was in a panick fear. They who were bald, or whose hairs were thin, were more apprehensive than the rest, and a Man must have had a great

quantity of Hair, to have been absolutely free from fear upon this occasion. We cast our Eyes upon those who were bald, and suspected sometimes one, and sometimes another. For my own part I was in such a fright, that I could not forbear to put my Hand frequently upon my Head to feel my Hair, and others did the same thing. While we were thus divided in our Opinions, nothing more had been read besides that passage, that the Senator, who was but superficially seen, was bald. But when they came to add that he wore a purple Robe, we all turn'd our Eyes upon *Bebius Marcellinus*, who had been *Edile*, and was very bald. He rose up on the instant, and advancing to the middle of the Assembly said, 'The Witnesses that 'has depos'd he saw me, would be able, I suppose, to know me again. The Witnesses being introduc'd, stood dumb for a time, searching for his Man. At last *Marcellinus* being pointed at by a Sign that was made to him, he declar'd 'twas he. He was immediately carried out of the Senate, deploring his Misfortune in vain. He stopt in the *Forum*, where he gave his four Sons his last Fare-

Farewel in the most Melancholy terms that can be conceiv'd. ' The only concern, said he to them, I have in dying, is that I must leave you in this ' bad World. He was beheaded before *Severus* knew he was condemn'd. *Pollenius Sebennus* was the Author of his Death. But a crime of so black a nature did not remain unpunish'd. For having done very unjust and violent things in his Government of *Noricum*, he was deliver'd to the Inhabitants of that Country, who put all the Affronts upon him they could invent. We saw him prostrate upon the Earth, and meanly begging his Life, which he with some difficulty obtain'd by the favour of *Aspasius* his Uncle.

He was of all Men living the most Satyrical and Biting, the greatest Rallier, the most Scornful, the most obliging Friend, and the most dangerous Enemy. Many of his ingenious Sayings, and cutting Ralleries upon several People, and upon *Severus* himself, are still remembred. When this Emperor was receiv'd into the Family of *Marcus*, he made this Compliment to him, ' I rejoyce, *Cæsar*, that you have found



a Father. Which he said to upbraid him with the meanness of his Birth, as if his Father had been unknown.

An *Italian* call'd *Bulas Felix* pillag'd *Italy* about this time for the space of two years with six hundred Men that he had got together, nor could all the care of *Severus*, or the most diligent pursuits of the Soldiers stop his Career. He had that dexterity, that he could impose upon the very sight of those who were in quest of him, and escap'd out of their Hands. He also won the favour of several Persons by Gifts. He inform'd himself very exactly of those who went out of *Rome*, and made sail towards *Brundisium*, of their Retinue, their Equipage, and their Money. From some he only took away part of what they had, and dismiss'd them with the rest. When he met with good Workmen he kept them some time, during which he made them work, then paid them for their Labour, and set them at Liberty. Two Thieves of his Troop being taken, and upon the point of being carried to the *Amphitheatre* to be expos'd to the Beasts, their Captain went to the Keeper of the Prison,



son, and pretending to be Governor of a Country, he told him that he had occasion for the service of those Men, and so sav'd their Lives. He did more yet. He went to the Centurion, who was order'd to pursue the Thieves, and acting another Person, offer'd to put their Leader into his Hands, if he would go with them. Thus he led the Centurion to the bottom of a hollow, stony Valley, where he easily master'd him. Then he put on a Magistrates Robe, and ascending a Tribunal, commanded the Centurions Hair to be cut off. Which done, he said to him, 'Go and tell your Master, that he would do well to give his Slaves Education, to hinder them from turning Thieves. For he had in his Troop a great number of the Emperor's Freedmen, to some of which he gave very little pay, and to others none at all.

When *Severus* heard these particulars he was in great choler, that he who had a Power sufficient to reduce the People of *Britain* by his Lieutenants, could not repress the Insolence of a Robber, who over-ran and plunder'd *Italy* at his Discretion. He sent a Tribune of his

his Guards at the head of a good body of Horse, with strict orders to seize the Captain of the Thieves, and to bring him alive before him. The Tribune being inform'd that this Head of the Robbers had an affair with a Married Woman, prevail'd with the Wife by her Husband's means, to betray the Leader of the Thieves to him. She gave directions to have him seiz'd in a Grotto where he was asleep. *Papinian* asking him, ' Why he had made himself a Leader of a parcel of Robbers, ' he answer'd, Why have you made yourself *Præfectus Prætorio*? He was expos'd to the Beasts at the proclamation of the Heralds, after which all his Troop, whose principal strength resided in his Person, was dispers'd.

*Severus* observing that his two Sons were abandon'd to their Pleasures, and that the Soldiers neglected their Exercises, undertook an Expedition against *Britain*, though he was perswaded from his Horoscope, that he should never return from thence to *Italy*. He had it drawn upon the Ceiling of a Hall in his Palace, where he sat to hear Causes. Every thing was mark'd there except

cept the Moment of his Birth. The *Augurs* had foretold him the same thing, when one of his Statues that was plac'd upon the Gate through which the Army was to pass from the Camp, was struck with Lightning, and three Letters of his name effac'd. Nor did he ever return from this Expedition, but died three years after he first set out from *Rome*. He got a prodigious Mass of Riches in *Britain*. The two most considerable Bodies of the People of that Island, and to which almost all the rest relate, are the *Caledonians* and the *Meatæ*. The last dwell on this side the great Wall that separates the Island in two parts. The others live beyond it. Both of them inhabit upon barren, uncultivated Mountains, or in desert, marshy Plains, where they have neither Walls, nor Towns, nor manur'd Lands, but feed upon the Milk of their Flocks, what they get by Hunting, and some wild fruits. They never eat Fish, tho' they have great plenty of them. They have no other Houses than Tents, where they live stark naked. The Women are common between them, and they take an equal care of all the Children they bring

bring forth. Their Government is popular, and the exercise to which they are most addicted, is that of Robbing. They fight upon Chariots, their Horses are low but swift. They have great agility of Body, and tread very securely at the same time. The Arms they make use of are a Buckler, a Poniard, a short Lance, at the lower end of which is a piece of Tin in the form of an Apple, with which their custom is to make a noise, with a design to frighten their Enemies. They are accusom'd to Fatigue, to bear Hunger, Cold, and all manner of Hardships. They run into the Morasses up to the Neck, and live several days there without eating. When they are in the Woods, they feed upon Roots and Leafs. They make a certain food that so admirably supports the Spirits, that when they have taken the quantity of a Bean, they feel no more Hunger or Thirst. This is the manner of living among the Inhabitants of *Britain*. It was never known till now, as I have already said, to be an Island. 'Tis about seven thousand one hundred and thirty two Furlongs in length, its greatest breadth is about

two



two thousand three hundred and ten, and its least about three hundred. We are masters of little less than half the Island. *Severus* having undertaken to reduce the whole Island under his Subjection, entred into *Caledonia*, where he had endless Fatigues to sustain, Forests to cut down, Mountains to level, Morasses to dry up, and Bridges to build. He had no Battel to fight, and saw no Enemies in a Body. Instead of appearing, they expos'd their Flocks of Sheep and Oxen with a design to surprize our Soldiers that should stray from the Army for the sake of Plunder. The Waters too extreamly incommoded our Troops, insomuch that some of the Soldiers being able to march no further, beg'd of their Companions to kill them, that they might not fall alive into their Enemies Hands. In a word, *Severus* lost fifty thousand Men there, and yet quitted not his Enterprize. He went to the extremity of the Island, where he observ'd very exactly the course of the Sun in those parts, and the length of Days and Nights in Winter and Summer. He was carried all over the Island in a close Chair, by reason of his Infirmities,



mities, and made a Treaty with the Inhabitants, by which he oblig'd them to relinquish part of their Country to him.

In the mean time the debauch'd course of Life that his Son *Antoninus* led, gave him very sharp disquiets. He foresaw that he would not fail to get rid of his Brother *Geta*, when he had an opportunity, and he knew that he had laid snares for him himself. This wicked Son went out of his Tent one day, making loud complaints of *Castor*, the most deserving of any of his Fathers Officers, to whom *Severus* intrusted his most secret thoughts, and the guard of his Head-quarters. He had perswaded some Soldiers to joyn with him in his Clamours, and to make a Disturbance. But they were hush'd at the sight of *Severus*, who appear'd on the instant, and order'd the most Mutinous to be seiz'd and punish'd. Another time as *Severus* and *Antoninus* went to meet the *Caledonians* in order to receive their Arms, and to confer with them about the conditions of Peace, being both on Horseback at the Head of the Army that follow'd them, the Army of the Enemy being

ing near at hand likewise, *Antoninus* stop'd his Horse, drew his Sword, and was going to stick it in the back of *Severus* his Father. Those who were behind cried out, and by their Shrieks stop'd his Hand. *Severus* turn'd back at the noise, saw the naked Sword, and said not a word. Having some time after ascended his Tribunal, and dispatch'd some Affairs, he went to the *Prætorium*, and sent for his Son, *Papinian*, and *Castor*. Then putting a Sword in the midst of them, he upbraided *Antoninus* with his insolent design of attempting upon his Life, and of committing so horrid a Crime in presence of the Allies and Enemies of the *Roman* People. ' It is easie for you, added he, to kill  
' me, if you have such a desire. I am  
' old, and almost without Motion. But  
' if your own Hand abhors the Action,  
' employ that of *Papinian*, *Præfectus Præ-*  
' *torio*, who will not fail to execute what  
' you command him, since you are in  
' possession of the Imperial Dignity.

*Severus* was satisfied with speaking to him after this manner, without using a greater Severity, though he would often blame *Marcus Aurelius* for not putting

ting *Commodus* to Death. He would sometimes too threaten *Antoninus* hard. But then he was in Anger, and his Threats were vain and insignificant, since he really had a greater tenderness for his Children than for the Republick. Yet one cannot excuse him for having been the cause of the death of the youngest, and for having in some sort deliver'd him over to his Brother, who was to put him to Death.

The Inhabitants of *Britain* having taken up Arms contrary to the faith of Treaties, *Severus* commanded his Soldiers to enter their Country, and to put all they met to the Sword, making use of two *Greek* Verses, the sense of which was, that they should not let the very Children escape that were hid in their Mother's Bellies. That which dispos'd him to make so cruel a War upon these People was, because the *Caledonians* and the *Meatæ* had agreed together to joyn their Forces in order to break the Treaty, and shake off the yoke of Obedience. But in the midst of his Enterprize he was taken off by a Distemper, to which it is pretended *Antoninus* had very much contributed.

'Tis

'Tis said that being at the point of Death he spoke to his Sons in these words: 'Live peaceably together, enrich the Soldiers, and make no account of the rest of your Subjects. His Body was born by the Soldiers to the Funeral Pile, about which the Army and the two Sons of the deceas'd Emperor made several Processions in honour of his Memory. Abundance of Presents were cast upon it, and at last the fire was put to it by *Antoninus* and *Geta*. The Ashes were collected and receiv'd into an Urn of Porphyry, carried to *Rome*, and deposited in the Tomb of the *Antonins*. 'Tis said that *Severus* order'd the Urn to be brought to him some few days before his Death, and taking it between his Hands, he said, 'Thou shalt contain a Man, that the World has not been able to contain. He was small of Stature, but of a strong Constitution, though it had been a little broken by the Gout. He had excellent Parts, was a lover of Learning, and had applied himself to it in such a manner, that the progress he made in it had rendered him more Able than Eloquent. He was grateful to his Friends, revengeful



to his Enemies, unwearied in the business of his High Office, and unmindful of the Reports that were spread against him. He had an extream passion for heaping up Money, and put all ways in practice for that end. Yet it must be confess'd, that he never put any to Death for his Estate. His own expences were very moderate. He rais'd several Structures, and repair'd old ones that were decay'd. He built a Magnificent Temple in Honour of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*. These great expences did not hinder him from leaving immense Sums in the Treasury. He very strenuously oppos'd the publick Incontinence, and made several Laws to stop the Torrent. Abundance of Citizens were search'd for upon this occasion, and when I was Consul, I found the names of three thousand that were accus'd in the Registers. But there being a latitude in the Instructions of the Judges, that dispens'd them from putting the rigour of the Laws in execution, *Severus* suffer'd this Relaxation, without giving himself much trouble about it. This Corruption of the *Roman* Manners, occasion'd once an agreeable Repartee from a *Caledonian* Woman,



man, whose name was *Argetoxa*, to the Empress *Julia*. As they were in Conversation together after the conclusion of the Treaty made between the two Nations, and *Julia* was rallying the other about the Liberties the *Caledonian* Women took publickly with Men, she answer'd her in these words: We satisfy the necessities of Nature in a more commendable manner than you. For whereas you seek the most retir'd Corners, and most profound darkness to prostitute your selves to the vilest of Men, we appear in the face of the World, enjoying the Society of the bravest Men upon Earth.

For what remains, *Severus* observ'd the following order in his Actions in time of Peace. He sat as early as the day in the Courts of Justice, after which he took the diversion of Walking, at which time he entred into a Conversation about somewhat that concern'd the good of the Empire, then went to hear Causes except upon Festival-days. He gave both sides as much Water as they desir'd, and left us the entire freedom of our Judgments. At Noon he got on Horseback, and rode as long as possibly he could,

bath'd, and din'd either alone or with his Children. When he rose from Table, which was very elegant, he repos'd till he was wak'd. Then he walk'd again, and discours'd of Learning. In the Evening he bath'd again, then sup'd with his most intimate Friends, admitting no others to his Table, except upon extraordinary days when he made very magnificent Entertainments. He liv'd sixty five Years, nine Months, and five and twenty Days, he was born the eleventh day of *April*. He Reign'd seventeen Years, eight Months and three Days. He was so much form'd for Action, that when he was dying, he ask'd if there was any thing more to be dispatch'd.

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THE  
REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*ANTONINUS,*

Surnam'd *CARACALLA.*

**A**fter the Death of *Severus*, *Antoninus* made himself sole Master of the Sovereign Power, tho' he shar'd it in appearance with *Geta* his Brother. He made a Peace immediately with his Enemies, and gave up to them their Lands and Fortresses. He dismiss'd some of his Servants, of which number was *Papinian*, and he put others to Death, as *Evodus* his Governor, *Castor*,

*Stor*, *Plautilla* his Wife, and *Plautus* her Brother. He treated in the same fashion a Man who was of no very exalted profession, for he was a driver of Chariots, but who was become very famous in that Province, and had no other reason to use him so, but because he was of a Party that was contrary to that which he favour'd. He was put to Death in a very advanc'd Age, and after he had won seven hundred fourscore and two Crowns of Laurel, which is a greater number than was ever gain'd by any other. *Caracalla* had had a design to kill his Brother both before and after the death of his Father. But he could not accomplish it during his Fathers Life, because he was watchful to preserve him; nor immediately after his Death, because during the Journey the Soldiers, who lov'd *Geta* extremely on the account of his resembling *Severus*, would not have suffer'd it. But he effected it after their return to *Rome*.

They made each other reciprocal Compliments, and shew'd other outward marks of Affection, but they went counter to them in the rest of their Actions, which breath'd nothing but Hatred,

tred ; and promis'd nothing but Tra-  
 gical Events. Before they return'd  
 to *Rome*, there were some Signs observ'd  
 of the Misfortune that threatned them.  
 For the Senate having order'd a Sacri-  
 fice to the Gods to obtain a Reconcili-  
 ation between them, and chiefly to the  
 Goddess *Concord*, the Priests prepar'd  
 the Victim, and the Consul went to as-  
 sist at the Solemnity ; but notwithstand-  
 ing those Priests had search'd all Night  
 for the Consul, and the Consul had  
 been to seek for them upon the same  
 account, they were not able to meet,  
 and so there was no Sacrifice. The day  
 following two Wolves went up to the  
*Capitol*, one was taken in the Market-  
 place, and the other was kill'd without  
 the Walls, which was look'd upon as a  
 Presage of what was to happen to the  
 two Emperors. *Antoninus* design'd to  
 have dispatch'd *Geta* during the Solem-  
 nity of the *Saturnalia*, but he could  
 not meet with an opportunity, because  
 their variance being grown publick, they  
 stood both upon their Guard. They  
 employ'd Men that were always Arm'd,  
 who were continually upon the watch  
 to surprize each other, and sometimes



came to blows. *Geta* was guarded Night and Day, within and without Doors by Soldiers and *Gladiators*, till weary of living in such continual distrust and uneasiness, he beg'd his Mother to procure a Meeting between him and his Brother, and to make them Friends. He was no sooner entred into the Apartment of *Julia*, but some Officers sent by *Caracalla* got in, fell upon him immediately, and murder'd him in his Mother's Arms, at a time when he was clasp'd in her Embraces, and as it were fix'd to her Breast, crying out, ' O Mother, save me, they Murder me. Thus was this unhappy Empress deluded by the treachery of *Antoninus Caracalla*, and had the grievous Misfortune to see her Son murder'd in her Arms, and to be cover'd with his Blood. She receiv'd her self a slight wound in the Hand, which she did not so much as complain of. But what compleated her measure of Sorrow was, she durst not shew her concern for a Son whom they had depriv'd her of, by so black a piece of treachery in the flower of his youth, at the Age of two and twenty Years, and nine Months; but she was

con-

constrain'd to rejoyce at it, as if it had  
 been a signal piece of good fortune.  
 They observ'd so narrowly the gestures  
 and countenance of this Empress, the  
 Widow of an Emperor, and the Mo-  
 ther of two Emperors, that she had not  
 the liberty to shew the least token of  
 Sorrow for the most cruel accident that  
 had ever happen'd to her. Tho' 'twas  
 very late in the Night when this Mur-  
 der was committed, *Caracalla* went im-  
 mediately to the Camp, giving out as  
 he pass'd, that there had been a Con-  
 spiracy form'd against him, and that he  
 had been in very great danger. When  
 he had pass'd the Wall, he saluted the  
 Soldiers, and without relating to them  
 what had happen'd, he stop'd their  
 Mouths with mighty Promises, that they  
 might not shew a resentment which Pie-  
 ty would have exacted from them up-  
 on such an occasion. ' My Compani-  
 ' ons, said he to them, it depends at  
 ' present only on my self to distribute  
 ' Gifts among you. I look on my self  
 ' as one of you, and will only live for  
 ' the future to heap benefits upon you.  
 ' I desire to live among you, or to die  
 ' with you. I am not afraid of Death,  
 ' and

‘ and I shall be glad to find it in Battel,  
 ‘ where every brave Man would chuse  
 ‘ to end his Life, rather than on any o-  
 ‘ ther occasion.

The day following he explain’d him-  
 self in the Senate in few words, and  
 when he rose from his Seat and was  
 near the Door, ‘ Take notice, said he  
 ‘ to us, of one thing, which the whole  
 ‘ World will be pleas’d with. Let all  
 ‘ the banish’d People in general, for  
 ‘ what Crimes soever they are condemn’d,  
 ‘ return home from the places of their  
 ‘ Exile. Thus he dispeopled the Islands  
 of those wicked Wretches they were  
 fill’d with, and soon after supply’d their  
 places with the Soldiers, Freedmen, and  
 Officers of his Brother *Geta*. He put  
 to Death of a sudden to the number of  
 twenty thousand Men and Women, and  
 others that had Offices and Employ-  
 ments in the Palace. *Papinian* was the  
 most considerable of them. *Antoninus*  
 reprov’d him that had put him to Death,  
 for making use of an Ax instead of a  
 Sword. He design’d to have serv’d *Ci-  
 lon* in the same manner, though he had  
 been his Governor, and his Friend, *Pre-  
 fect* of *Rome* in the Reign of *Severus*, and  
 had

had often done him the honour to call him his Father. The Soldiers, whom he had commanded to put him to Death, pillag'd his House, and having found him in his Bath, carried him thro' the *Via Sacra* to the Palace, cover'd with a simple Tunick, and having nothing but Sandals on his feet. They tore his Cloaths, and struck him so rudely on the face, that the Citizens and Soldiers of the City were astonish'd at it. *Antoninus* being in some confusion, occasion'd by the presence of those who could not approve of such unworthy usage, ran to meet *Cilon*, and having at that time a Military Habit on, cover'd him with it, and said to those that held him, 'Don't hurt my Father, don't strike my Governor. He condemn'd the Tribune and Soldiers to Death, as a punishment in appearance for their ill usage of *Cilon*, but in truth for having fail'd to execute the order he had given them, which was to dispatch him. I will not undertake here to give the names of all the considerable Persons he put to death, without any formality of Justice. I shall content my self with saying, that he sent out of the World  
all

all those he had a mind to be rid of, without examining whether there was any reason for it or not, and by this means he depriv'd *Rome* of the best of her Inhabitants. After some time growing weary of Murders, he turn'd his thoughts to the diversions of the Theatre, which yet were not exempt from Blood. For to say nothing of an Elephant, a *Rhinoceros*, a Tyger, and a *Hippo-Tyger*, that were kill'd in a day, he took great pleasure in the Combats of *Gladiators*, and he oblig'd one, call'd *Baton*, to fight with three successively the same day, and when he was kill'd in the last Battel, he made a very noble Funeral for him.

He had so profound a Veneration for the Name and Memory of *Alexander*, that he for the most part made use of such Arms and Utensils, as that King had formerly us'd, filling the Camp and *Rome* it self with his Statues. He rais'd a *Phalanx* consisting of sixteen thousand Men, all *Macedonians* originally, and call'd it the *Phalanx* of *Alexander*. He provided them with the same Arms which the *Macedonians* formerly us'd in the Reign of that Conqueror, viz. A  
 Helmet



Helmet made of the Hide of an Ox untann'd, a Cuirass of Linnen woven with three Threads, a Shield of Copper, a long Lance, a small Javelin, Buskins, and a Sword. He was not satisfied with this, but took upon himself the name of *Alexander* of the *East*, and wrote one day to the Senate, that the Soul of *Alexander* was entred into his Body, to animate it longer than it had formerly done his own. He had so strong an aversion for those Philosophers that profess'd to follow *Aristotle*, that he depriv'd them of the Immunities and Priviledges they enjoy'd in *Alexandria*. He had even a design to burn the Books of that Philosopher, under pretence that he had been the cause of the death of *Alexander*. He had always several Elephants in his Retinue to imitate *Alexander*, or rather *Bacchus*. Having one day commended a Tribune for his agility in mounting a Horse, he ask'd him what Country-man he was. When he understood he was a *Macedonian*, he enquir'd his name. The Tribune answering *Antigonus*, he ask'd the name of his Father; and when he heard 'twas *Philip*, he cried out aloud, 'I have all I  
 ' could

‘ could desire. He rais’d him on the instant to a more considerable Post in the Army, and soon after to the Dignity of a Senator, and *Prefect*. There was another who was no *Macedonian*, and had been guilty of several Crimes, whom he treated favourably, only because his name was *Alexander*. As the Advocate who was charg’d with his Process was repeating, *Alexander* is a Murderer, *Alexander* is an Enemy of the Gods, *Antoninus* interrupting him said, ‘ If you persist in declaiming against *Alexander*, your Life shall answer it. This passionate lover of *Alexander* us’d the Soldiers with great civility, but in revenge his thoughts were continually employ’d how to oppress and ruine People of all other Conditions, and chiefly Senators. Besides other Impositions which were almost numberless, we were oblig’d whenever he went out of *Rome*, to be at the charge of preparing for his entertainment upon the Road, though he was never to make use of it. We were likewise constrain’d to prepare Theatres and *Hippodromes* in those Countries where ’twas imagin’d he would pass the Winter, and  
all

all we had done with a prodigious expence to us, was demolish'd the next Moment without being put to any use, which was a clear Demonstration that his design was to ruine us. He gave immense Sums to the Soldiers, and for the maintenance of Horses and Beasts. He was himself at the charge of buying part of those Beasts and Horses, and oblig'd us to provide the rest, and when he had them he kill'd them. He kill'd to the number of a hundred wild Boars with his own Hand. He drove Chariots cloath'd in Blue, and follow'd those exercises with an incredible passion. He had the subtlety and dissimulation of his Mother, and the *Syrians*, among whom she was born. He usually gave the direction of the Sports and Combats either to his Freedmen, or other Persons of Substance, that they might be profuse upon that occasion, submitted meanly to their Authority, and ask'd them for his piece of Gold, as if he had been one of the Populace. He compar'd his *Char* to that of the Sun, and pretended to imitate its rapid course. In short, all the Provinces under his power were ruin'd to that desolation in  
his

his Reign, that the People cried out one day at the *Circus*, ‘ We put to death  
 ‘ the Living, to have wherewithal to  
 ‘ bury the Dead. He often said, that  
 he would have all the Money of the  
 Empire to give his Soldiers. When *Julia*  
 put him in mind one day of his  
 Profusions, and told him that all his  
 Revenues were gone, he replied to her,  
 ‘ I beg you, Madam, not to be trou-  
 ‘ bled, and to be assur’d, that as long  
 ‘ as we have the Sword in our Hands,  
 ‘ we shall want nothing. He gave not  
 only great Sums of Money, but Lands  
 and Estates to those who flatter’d his  
 passions. He gave two hundred and fif-  
 ty thousand Drachma’s to *Julius Pan-*  
*linus*, as a reward for an agreeable piece  
 of Raillery, though he did it less to ob-  
 lige him, than to satisfie his humour.  
 He had said to him, that he knew how  
 to counterfeit a Man in passion so well,  
 that he seem’d to be in earnest. He  
 never applied his mind to Learning, or  
 Vertue. Nor did he ever learn any  
 thing, as he frankly acknowledg’d. For  
 which reason he esteem’d us very lit-  
 tle, especially those among us whom  
 he knew to be addicted to Study. *Se-*

*verus*



*verus* however had been very careful to have him taught those Exercises that might form the Body and Mind. And after he came to the Empire, he spent several hours of the day with learned Men, and read Books of Philosophy with them. He us'd likewise to supple his Joynts with Oil, to ride much, and to bath in cold Water. By these Exercises he had increas'd his Strength, and qualified himself to endure Fatigues, but he had preserv'd no *Idea* of Learning. Not that he wanted a due conception of things, or words to express his thoughts. On the contrary he had a wonderful readiness of Speech, on every occasion that presented it self to his Mind.

After having thus drawn a sketch of his Manners, it may not be improper to represent his manner of making War. He deceiv'd *Augares* King of the *Osroenians*, and put him in Irons, though he came to visit him upon the security of a Treaty as an Ally. When he had thus depriv'd him of his Liberty, 'twas easie for him to usurp his Kingdom. Having learnt that the King of *Armenia* was at variance with his Sons, he wrote



a very civil Letter to him, and offer'd to be Arbitrator of their Differences. Under this pretence he seiz'd upon him, as he had serv'd *Augares* before. But he was not able notwithstanding to make himself Master of his Kingdom, the People chusing rather to take Arms than to submit to his Power. No body trusted him after so black a piece of Treachery, and he learnt by experience, how dangerous it is for an Emperor to deceive his Friends and Allies. Writing one day to the Senate concerning the difference there was between the Kings of *Parthia*, he told them that the Misunderstanding of those Princes who were Brothers, might contribute to the ruine of their Kingdom, as if those Variances that might be destructive to a foreign State, had been very serviceable towards the preserving of the *Roman* Empire. Could the profuse Donatives he had distributed to the Soldiers, as a reward for the Murder of his Brother, contribute to the advancing of Riches and Plenty among us? To have written to him heretofore, or to have been of the number of his Guards was esteem'd a Crime. To have written or  
 . pro-

pronounc'd his Name, though without design, was sufficient to be declar'd guilty, and to be condemn'd. The Poets were forbidden to give the name of *Geta* to any of the Persons in their Dramatick Works. They who had put him in their Wills, were punish'd with the confiscation of their Goods. For what remains, with all these faults he led a very plain, frugal Life in the pressing necessities of War, and personally underwent all fatigues with the Soldiers. He march'd every where with them, without changing his Cloaths, or taking any other Nourishment, but what they took themselves. He sometimes sent a defiance to the strongest and bravest of his Enemies, as if Victory had depended on a single Combat, and not on Order and Discipline establish'd thro' the whole Army; and thus while he amus'd himself with these slight Exercises, he neglected the principal Duties of an Emperor.

He had a very sharp War with the *Cenni*, a People that are a part of the *Celtick* Nation. 'Tis said they fought with so much obstinacy, that they pluck'd out with their Teeth the Darts

Y 2

they

they receiv'd from the *Ostroenians*, that they might keep their hands at liberty, without losing a Moment's time, for the destruction of the *Romans*. He gave them a great Sum of Money to obtain the liberty of retiring into *Germany*. He ask'd some of their Wives whom the *Romans* had taken, which they would choose, to be sold or put to Death, they answer'd, that they prefer'd Death before Servitude. When they were sold, they kill'd themselves, and some of them kill'd their Children too.

*Antoninus* alter'd the Coin, and made Tin and Copper pass for Silver and Gold. He was unhealthy and subject to Infirmities, whereof some were visible, and others conceal'd. But his Mind was much more disorder'd than his Body. He was tormented with frightful Imaginations, fancying sometimes he was pursued by his Father and his Brother with naked Swords in their Hands. He invoc'd the Souls of the Dead, and particularly those of his Father and *Commodus*, to deliver him from these Visions. But he never receiv'd any answer except from *Commodus*, whom he thought  
advis'd

advis'd him once to hang himself immediately, and another time that he had a conceal'd Distemper. He put to Death four *Vestals*, one of which he had attempted to debauch. But he could not effect it, because towards the end of his Life, he wanted the Vigour that is necessary for those Enjoyments, which made him seek, as it was said, more infamous Pleasures. This *Vestal*, whose name was *Claudia Leta*, was buried alive, though she protested she was Innocent, and cried out that *Antoninus* very well knew she was a Virgin. He very seldom sat in the Courts of Justice. But he was very curious, and made a strict enquiry into the minutest Matters. 'Twas for this the Soldiers were so extreamly in his favour, who serv'd him as Spies, and he had forbid that any one should punish them but himself. The Licentiousness they enjoy'd tended to our oppression. But nothing was so scandalous and insupportable to the People and Senate, as the Power that was assum'd over us by an Eunuch, call'd *Sempronius Rufus*, a Native of *Spain*, a Poisoner, and Magician by profession, who had been for-

merly banish'd into an Island by *Severus*, and in danger of being punish'd with the other noted Evidences. *Antoninus* often sent us word that he would hear Causes, and apply himself to other publick Affairs as early as the Day, and thus kept us waiting till Noon, and sometimes till Night, before he would let us enter. He afterwards thought fit to dispense with our Attendance entirely for the future. He amus'd himself in the interim with some unprofitable, ridiculous Exercises, as driving Chariots, shooting Beasts, pouring out Wine into Cups, drinking hard, and sending it to his Guards in our presence. Thus did he pass the Winter at *Nicomedia*. He there made frequent reviews of the *Macedonian Phalanx*, which he oblig'd to continual Exercise. He also prepar'd two great Machines to be made use of in the War against the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, and transported them by Sea into *Syria*.

Besides all this he committed abundance of Murders, and gave way to other unjust and violent Actions. He was lavish in his Expences to the most extravagant Madness, in which as well



as on other occasions, he was regardless of the wise Counsels of his Mother, though he left to her the care of his Letters, and the chief Expeditions, and joyn'd the Empress's Name with his own, and that of the Army, and fill'd his Letters to the Senate with the Praises of his Mother. It is not necessary to say that the principal Men of the State made their Compliments to her in form, as they did to the Emperor, and paid her the same Honours. She profess'd an application to the Study of Philosophy. As for him, he made it his glory that he wanted nothing, and could be satisfied with the most moderate way of Living, though there was nothing exquisite or rare in the Elements of Air, Earth or Water, but private Men and Communities were oblig'd to provide for him. He was such a favourer of Impostors and Magicians, that he paid great Honours to the Memory of *Apollonius* of *Cappadocia*, who flourish'd in the Reign of *Domitian*, and erected a Monument for him. He undertook the War against the *Parthians*, under pretence that *Vologeses* had refus'd to deliver up to him *Tiridates* and *An-*

. *tiochus* whom he had demanded. This *Antiochus* was a *Cilician*, and had made profession of the Philosophy of the *Cynicks*. He had been very serviceable heretofore to the Soldiers by the examples of Courage and Patience which he had set them, by rolling himself in the Snow before their Eyes, and encouraging them by this means to endure the extremity of Cold. After he had receiv'd Rewards and Honours from *Severus* and *Antoninus*, he grew vain, went over to *Tiridates*, and retir'd with him into *Parthia*.

*Antoninus*, before he left *Nicomedia*, gave a Combat of *Gladiators* upon the Anniversary of his accession to the Empire, and even upon that day did not abstain from shedding of Blood. For a *Gladiator* who was overcome, begging his Life of the Emperor, he said to him, 'Ask it of your Adversary, for 'tis not in my power to give it. His Adversary, who would have given him his Life but for the Emperor's Answer, took it away lest he should appear to have more goodness and mercy than the Emperor. While he was at *Antioch*, abandon'd to his pleasures, he complain'd sometimes of

of the fatigues and dangers to which he found himself expos'd, and accus'd the Senate of being resign'd to Idleness and Negligence. ' I have heard, says he in a Letter to us, that you presume to dislike my Actions. But know that while I am at the Head of my Troops, I despise all you can say of me. The King of the *Parthians* being struck with a consternation at the noise of his March, deliver'd up *Tiridates* and *Antiochus* to the *Roman* Emperor, and so diverted the Misfortune that threatned him. *Antoninus* after that sent *Theocritus* with Troops against the *Armenians*, who defeated him. This *Theocritus* was the Son of a Slave, had formerly danc'd upon the Stage, and had so far insinuated himself since into the good opinion of *Antoninus*, that he seem'd to be much more exalted than the two *Præfetti Prætorio*. There was another Freedman of the Emperor, nam'd *Apagatus*, who match'd him in Power and Insolence.

This *Theocritus* was in a continual ferment to find out ways of growing rich; and for that end made use of the most unjust, without sparing the Lives and Blood of Men. *Flavius Titianus* was  
one

one of those on whom he practis'd this violence. He had provok'd him to that degree, when he was *Procurator* of *Alexandria*, that he rose from his Seat, and ran furiously at him with his Sword in his Hand. *Titianus* said to him in a rallying manner, 'Behold the Action' of a Player, with which *Theocritus* being touch'd to the quick, procur'd him to be Murder'd. Though *Antoninus* affected to shew a singular Esteem and profound Veneration for the Memory of *Alexander*, he could scarce prevail with himself to spare any part of the City, which that renown'd Conqueror had founded heretofore. For hearing that the Inhabitants reproach'd him with several Crimes, and especially with the Murder of his Brother, he disguis'd his Resentment, and yet departed with a resolution to be reveng'd. When he was arriv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Alexandria*, he receiv'd the chief Inhabitants of the City, who came to wait upon him attended with the most sacred and venerable Emblems of their Religion, with great civility, set them at his Table, and then most inhumanly murder'd them.

After



After this his Troops being put in order, he entred the City, secur'd the Streets, and forbad the Inhabitants to quit their Houses, and made so general a Massacre of them, that he forbore to number the slain in his Letter to the Senate upon this occasion, but only said that 'twas needless to send a List of those who were put to Death; since there was not a single Person in that City but deserv'd the same Chastisement. Their effects were either plunder'd or spoil'd. Several Strangers, and even *Romans* that belong'd to *Antoninus*, who were undistinguish'd in such a horrible confusion, were involv'd in the Misfortune of the Inhabitants. As the City was very large, and the Slaughter continued incessantly Night and Day, it was impossible to make any distinction. As fast as People were kill'd, their Bodies were thrown into very deep Ditches made for that purpose, to prevent knowing their Numbers. All Strangers were driven out of the City, except Merchants, whose effects were plunder'd. The Temples were us'd in the same manner. *Antoninus* was present at this bloody Execution, and distributed his Orders



ders from the Temple of *Serapis*, where he continued almost all the time, tho' his hands were dipt in Blood. But what do I say? He had the Insolence and Impiety to sacrifice to the Gods, and to consecrate in their Temples the Sword that was the instrument of his Brother's Murder. He abolish'd the Sports and Festivals that had been instituted heretofore for the diversion of the People, and divided the City into two parts, and built Forts to prevent the communication of the Inhabitants. This was the cruel usage the miserable City of *Alexandria* receiv'd from the fury of the *Beast of Italy*. He had been so call'd by an Oracle consulted on this occasion. 'Tis said he was pleas'd with the Name, and yet he put to death several Persons for repeating the words of the Oracle that call'd him so.

He afterwards led his Army against the *Parthians* for no other reason, but because *Artaban* had refus'd him his Daughter in Marriage. The cause of this refusal was from a perswasion that *Antoninus* had no other regard for the Marriage, than as 'twould serve for a pretence to usurp his Kingdom. He entered

tered into *Media*, laid the Country waste, reduc'd the City of *Arbella*, demolish'd the Tombs of the *Parthian* Kings, and dispers'd their Bones. As this War ended without fighting, I have no particulars to relate but this. Two Soldiers having taken a Vessel of Wine, and making an equal pretension to it, refer'd their difference to the Emperor. He determin'd that they ought to share their Wine betwixt them, and on the instant they drew their Swords, and cut the Vessel in two. Here was a proof both of the profound respect they had for their Emperor, to whom they durst propose a contest of this nature, and of their excellent sense that made them lose their Wine. The *Parthians* retir'd to the Mountains beyond the *Tygris* to prepare for their defence. *Antoninus* endeavour'd to conceal their retreat, and gave out that he had subdued them. At least he wrote to us in very big terms, that he had won the Victory, and that a Lion descending from the Mountains had fought on his side. He abolish'd the Customs of our Ancestors, and chang'd the Order of Military Discipline. He invented a Habit cut in the  
form

form of a Cassack, wore it constantly himself, from whence he was surnam'd *Caracalla*, and commanded his Soldiers to wear the same. When the *Parthians* saw his manner of living, that tended to the softning of his Soldiers Minds, that they pass'd the Winter in Houses, and consum'd the Substance of their Landlords, they march'd with a design to attack them, in hopes the Inhabitants who had been so rigorously us'd would be of their side. *Antoninus* prepar'd to receive them. But he did not come to an Engagement with them, because he was slain in the midst of his Guards, in whom he had repos'd a perfect confidence, and for whom he had always a singular Esteem.

A Man skill'd in Prediction had foretold in *Africa*, that *Macrinus* Captain of the Guards, and *Diadumenus* his Son should come to the Empire. This Prediction had been so generally dispers'd, that the Author of it was sent to *Rome*, where he repeated it to *Flavius Martianus*, who commanded the Soldiers of the City, and who wrote instantly to *Antoninus* to give him notice of it. But the Letter was carried to *Antioch*, where  
*Julia*

*Julia* his Mother had Orders to open all Letters while her Son was taken up with prosecuting the War in an Enemies Country. *Ulpian* the *Censor* wrote to *Macrinus* at the same time, to acquaint him with the report relating to him. He knew the business long before the Emperor, whose Letters had been stop'd, as I have said, and when he receiv'd the news, he began to apprehend that *Antoninus* would put him to Death. That which increas'd his fear was, an *Egyptian* call'd *Serapion* had told *Antoninus* some days before, that he had but little time to live, and that *Macrinus* would succeed him. This *Serapion* had been expos'd for his freedom of Speech to a Lion, who did him no manner of hurt. When he saw the Lion had spar'd him, he order'd him to be put to death. He declar'd as he was dying, that he could have avoided this kind of Death, if he had been Master of another day to invoke his Gods. *Macrinus* thinking himself in extream danger, and mistrusting *Antoninus* because he had remov'd his most intimate Friends under a pretence of giving them Employments, judg'd there was no time to be lost,



lost, and employ'd two *Tribunes* of the Guards to dispatch the Emperor, by whom they had been ill us'd. The thing was done in this manner. *Antoninus* setting out from *Edeffa* upon the eighth day of *April* to go to *Carræ*, and lighting from his Horse to satisfy a necessity of Nature, one of the two *Tribunes* approach'd him, as if it had been upon business, gave him a stab with a short Dagger, and fled. He might have escap'd if he had thrown away his *Poniard*. But not parting with it, he was discover'd, and pierc'd with a Dart by a *Scythian* of the Guards at a distance. The *Tribunes* coming up to *Antoninus*, as 'twere to defend him, dispatch'd him. He liv'd but nine and twenty years, and reign'd six, two Months, and thirty Days.

His Death was preceded by several very remarkable Circumstances, which I cannot relate without Astonishment. The last time he set out from *Antioch*, he dreamt that he saw his Father with a Sword in his Hand, threatening him with these words, ' I will kill thee in the same manner as thou hast kill'd thy Brother. The *Augurs* advis'd him to take  
care



care of himself upon the day he was kill'd, and declar'd to him that the passages of the Victim's Liver were shut up. Yet more, as he pass'd by a Gate a favourite Lion that us'd to sit at Table with him, and lie by him on his Bed, laid hold of him, and tore off the lower part of his Robe, but without minding this Passage he went on. He bred a great number of other Lions, had always one of them near him, and often kiss'd his darling Lion before a multitude of People. I have heard that a Fire happening of a sudden a little before his Death at *Alexandria*, it consum'd the Sword that had kill'd his Brother *Geta*, which had been dedicated in the Temple of *Serapis*, and spar'd all the rest. Yet further, there fell at *Rome* a Statue of *Mars*, as 'twas carried in State among others at the time when they were going to celebrate the Sports of the *Circus*. *Antoninus* seem'd to foretell his own Death in the last Letter he wrote to the Senate, by which he forbade them to wish for the future that his Reign might last an Age. 'Twas a wish the Senate had been accusom'd to make from his first Accession to the

Z                      Empire.

Empire. He never found fault with it but this one time, because 'twas a Prayer whose effect could not be obtain'd: But that which is considerable in it is, that he signified by those words, that his Reign would shortly end. At the time when all these Circumstances were publish'd, I remember that when he gave us an Entertainment in *Nicomedia*, at the Festival of the *Saturnalia*, after he had convers'd with us upon several Subjects according to his custom, he call'd me to him, and said, ' *Dion, Euripides* ' has said with as much Truth as Elegance, that Fate has several Aspects, ' that the Gods send us many things against our expectation, that the most ' easie designs prove abortive, and the ' most difficult successful, when they ' are pleas'd to appoint them so. I lookt upon this Discourse as spoke at random, and tending to nothing at that time. But when after his Death I call'd it back to my remembrance, I was perswaded that those Divine Words were a Prophecy of what was to happen to him. *Jupiter*, call'd the *Beautiful*, who is ador'd at *Apamea* a City of *Syria*, had before made two such Predictions

to *Severus*. Before he came to the Empire he told him, that he had Eyes and Head like *Jupiter*, a Body like *Mars*, and a Stomach like that of *Neptune*, and after he was Emperor, he foretold him that his Family would swim in Blood.

There was found after the Death of *Antoninus*, a great quantity of Poisons which he had sent for out of the Upper *Asia*, and had bought for five Millions five hundred thousand Drachma's, in order to get rid of all those whom he should dislike. These Poisons were burnt, and contributed wonderfully to heighten the publick hatred against his Memory, which was vilified by the most opprobrious Affronts. He was no longer call'd *Antoninus*, but either *Caracalla*, as I have already said, or *Tarantus*, which was the name of a *Gladiator*, that was very little, very ill made, and very much a Villain. But let him be call'd by what Name he will, he was the Man I have describ'd. *Severus* his Father seem'd to have commanded me to leave to Posterity a faithful History of his Reign, for at the time of his Death I dreamt I saw him

upon a Throne, from whence he spoke to his Army that furrounded him in a Plain, and as I made my approaches to hear him, he call'd me and said, ' Come forward *Dion*, that being exactly inform'd of all that shall be said or done, you may be able to write a faithful account of it. Such was the Life and Death of *Tarantus*.

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THE  
 REIGN  
 OF THE  
 EMPEROR  
*MACRINUS.*

**M***ACRINUS* was of *Cesarea* in *Mauritania*, born of Parents of a mean Condition, and had an Ear pierc'd after the fashion of the *Moors*. But the eminence of his Vertue hid in some sort the meanness of his Birth. He was more careful to discharge all the Duties of Justice, than he had been to instruct himself in them. He was honour'd by *Antoninus* with the Office of *Præfectus Prætorio*, or Captain of the Guards, and discharg'd his Trust

Z 3 with



with great Integrity. Four days after the death of that Prince, he was declar'd his Successor by the Army, whom he had promis'd among other things to deliver from the fatigues of War. When he had the Sovereign Power in his Hands, he took very opposite measures to those of *Antoninus*, and put things into excellent order. He made a Decree to forbid the erecting of any Statue of Silver to him above the weight of ten Marks, and of Gold above six. He was accus'd of making a very ill choice of Officers, and of putting unworthy Men into Places; which is a fault of the last Importance in the administration of Affairs, and of pernicious consequence to the Subject. He began soon after to live with extream Delicacy, and to use his Power with the utmost Severity, thinking by this shew of Grandeur, to hide the meanness of his Extraction. He was very haughty to such as he suspected had a contempt for the obscurity of his Family, and a regret to see him in so sublime a Station, in which they thought he was supported by no kind of Merit. There were even some whom he put  
to

to Death upon this occasion, in stead of reflecting upon the change of his Fortune, and observing a moderation in the midst of Power, and gaining by his goodness the Affection of his Subjects. Nevertheless the Joy People were in for the death of the Tyrant possess'd their thoughts to that degree, that they were unmindful of the low extraction of *Macrinus*, and submitted to him without any difficulty. They reflected more upon him from whom they were deliver'd, than him to whom they swore new Allegiance, and were perswaded that whatsoever their new Prince might prove, he would still be preferable to the other. *Macrinus* banish'd into an Island *Lucius Priscilian*, who in the preceding Reign had made himself famous for the mischiefs he had done, and for his Combats with wild Beasts. He fought one day alone with a Bear, a Panther, a Lionsess, a Lion, and kill'd several other Beasts. But he had occasion'd by his Calumnies the Deaths of yet a greater number of Men, Knights and Senators. When *Julia* the Mother of *Antoninus* receiv'd the news of his Death at *Antioch*, where she then was,

she was so sensibly affected with it, that she beat her Breast, and tore her Cloaths, as if she had been in the last Despair, and perfectly resolv'd not to survive him. She griev'd for him, though she had always hated him. His Death perhaps was not the motive of her Sorrow, but she was now reduc'd to a private condition. The Grief that transported her, drew from her Mouth several things of no small disadvantage to the reputation of *Macrinus*. But when she saw that he neither depriv'd her of her Guards, nor of her Household, and that he had written to her in very obliging terms, she had not so eager a desire to die. When he came afterwards to hear what she had said of him, tho' her Letters to him imported quite another thing, and receiv'd advice besides of her forming Cabals with her Guards to usurp the Sovereign Power, as *Semiramis* and *Nitocris* her Country-women had formerly done, he sent her orders to leave *Antioch*, and to retire where she pleas'd. Then she took a resolution to die by refusing to eat. It must be own'd too, that a Cancer she had in her Breast, which she had inflam'd by her Blows, contributed to her Death.

*Macri-*

*Macrinus* hearing that *Artaban* made great Levies, and prepar'd in earnest for War, endeavour'd to pacifie him by remitting Prisoners to him, and writing to him in very obliging Terms. But *Artaban* very far from being willing to agree upon reasonable Conditions, demanded the re-establishment of such Cities as had been destroy'd, the restitution of all *Mesopotamia*, and reparation for the ruine of the Royal Tombs. Whereupon *Macrinus* without losing time in Consultations, advanc'd towards *Nisibis*, where the Enemies were arriv'd, came to an Engagement with them upon the occasion of an Incampment, which both Parties aim'd at for the conveniency of Water, and was defeated. He gave them Battel a second time, which succeeding no better than the first, he was constrain'd to buy a Peace, and to give *Artaban* and his Officers above fifteen Millions of *Drachma's*.

The *Romans* were no sooner deliver'd from this foreign War, but they were unhappily engag'd in a civil Broil, excited by the Soldiers, who pretended that the Emperor did not use them so well as they expected, and was not so liberal



ral to them as *Antoninus* had been.

We were extreamly disturb'd at this time by the sight of a Comet which appear'd for several Nights, and extended its Tail from West to East, and we often repeated some Verses out of *Homer*, relating to the terrible Thunders that roar'd in the Air ; the consequence of which seem'd to be what follows.

*Maïsa*, Sister of the Empress *Julia*, had two Daughters, *Socemis*, and *Mammaea*, who had each a Son. One had been married to *Varus Marcellus* a Syrian, and the other to *Martian* of the same Country, who were both Dead. A Freedman of the Emperor call'd *Eutichian*, who had insinuated himself into the favour of his Prince by the dexterity he had shewn at the publick Sports and Combats, taking notice of the hatred which the Soldiers bore *Macrinus*, and feeling an impulse from the answers of the Oracle of the Sun, surnam'd *Heliogabalus*, who was worship'd with a profound Veneration, and excited by other Oracles, undertook to lay aside this Emperor, and to set up in his place *Lupus* the Grandson of *Maïsa*, though he was yet but very young. How difficult so-  
ever



ever this Enterprize was, he found means to accomplish it. He first gave out that *Lupus* was the Natural Son of *Antoninus*, and then putting the same Robes upon him that was formerly worn by that *Prince* when he was a Youth, he brought him to the Camp in the Night, without the knowledge of his Mother or Grandmother, and upon the sixteenth day of *May* perswaded the Soldiers, who wanted but an occasion to revolt, to proclaim him Emperor, which they did by the name of *Antoninus*.

*Macrinus* wrote to the Senate upon the occasion of this false *Antoninus*, calling him Child and Fool. He complain'd in the same Letter of the baseness of the Soldiers, who had suffer'd themselves to be corrupted by Bribes to revolt against him. He added, that in his Misfortune he had the consolation of surviving a *Fratricide*, who had us'd his utmost endeavours to destroy the Universe. 'I doubt not, continued he, 'but there are too many Persons who 'wish rather for the death of their Sovereigns, than for their Welfare. However I speak not of my self, as being 'perswaded that nobody has any reason  
to

‘ to wish me any hurt. When this last passage was read, *Fulvius Diogenian* cried out, ‘ We have all wish’d for it. He had been Consul, had very little understanding, and was neither esteem’d by others, nor satisfied with himself.

*Macrinus* took the Title of Father several times in his Letter, and design’d to make *Diadumenus* his Son his Associate in the Empire, though he was younger than the false *Antoninus*, to whom he objected his Childhood, in which we discover’d his Weakness. The false *Antoninus* was so extreamly diligent, that the two Armies met in a place about a hundred and fourscore Furlongs from *Antioch*. *Macrinus* promis’d himself great matters from the eagerness, warmth, and agility of his Troops of Guards, whom to make the lighter, he had devested of their Cuirasses made in the form of Shells, and of their Bucklers. But he was vanquish’d by his own fear, as the Gods seem’d to have foretold him by a Pidgeon that flew upon his Statue at the time when the first Letter he had ever sent to us was reading in the Senate. He had less courage than *Maisa* and *Socenis*,

*mis*, the Grandmother and Mother of the false *Antoninus*, who perceiving their Troops begin to give way leap'd out of their Chariots, and upbraided them with Cowardise. The false *Antoninus* drew his Sword the same instant, rode towards them full speed, and throwing himself before them, as 'twere by Divine Inspiration, fell upon them with the same fury as if they had been his Enemies, and made them return to the fight. Notwithstanding this they had taken flight a second time, if *Macrinus* had not fled himself. He sent his Son to *Artaban*, and retiring towards *Antioch*, gave out he had won the day to induce them to receive him into their City. But the news of his defeat being brought, and several Murders being committed upon the Roads and in the City, according to the interest every body took in one or the other Party, he fled on Horseback in the Night having cut his Beard and Hair, and put an obscure Habit over his Purple one, that he might pass for a private Man. He arriv'd with his Retinue, which was very moderate, at *Ega* a City of *Cilicia*, took Post-horses there, as if he had been an Officer

Officer of the Army sent upon some  
hasty Message, travers'd *Cappadocia*, *Ga-*  
*latia*, *Bithynia*, and arriv'd at *Eribole*,  
which is the Port of *Nicomedia*. Not  
daring to enter into the City, he sail'd  
towards *Chalcedon*, and sent to one of his  
*Procurators* for Money. Being disco-  
ver'd by this Message, he was taken in  
*Chalcedon* by some Soldiers who had  
been dispatch'd after him by the false  
*Antoninus*, and brought back into *Cap-*  
*padocia*, where having learnt that his  
Son was in the hands of his Enemies, he  
threw himself out of his Chariot, broke  
his Shoulderbone, and was kill'd soon af-  
ter.

Thus *Macrinus*, who was arriv'd at the  
Age of fifty four, and was considerable  
for his experience in Affairs, for the a-  
bility he had shewn in the conduct of  
Armies, and for the reputation he had  
gain'd in the World, was defeated by a  
Child whose name had scarce been heard  
of. This Misfortune had been presag'd  
to him by an Oracle, whose words were  
these, ' A young Prince shall pull down  
' another, whom Age shall deprive of  
' the strength he had.

This



This Example shews clearly that the best establish'd Power is never secure, and that when a Man is loaded with the favours of Fortune, he ought still to be upon his Guard, as if he expected she would leave him. He was depriv'd in a little time, and by a strange turn of fortune, of the Empire, which he enjoy'd but a year and two Months, wanting three Days, if we reckon from the day he possess'd himself of it, to that of the Battel which he lost.

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At the Court of the Lord of the Manor of  
 the County of Middlesex  
 the 1st day of May 1881  
 before me the undersigned  
 John Smith Esq  
 of the County of Middlesex  
 Esq  
 do hereby certify that  
 the within and foregoing  
 is a true and correct  
 copy of the original  
 as the same appears  
 from the records of the  
 Court of the Lord of the Manor  
 of the County of Middlesex  
 at the City of London  
 in the year of our Lord  
 1881

Witness my hand and seal  
 at the City of London  
 this 1st day of May 1881  
 John Smith Esq  
 of the County of Middlesex  
 Esq

A

THE  
 REIGN  
 OF THE  
 EMPEROR  
*AVITUS,*  
 SURNAM'D

*The False* ANTONINUS, SARDANAPALUS, HELIOGABALUS, &c.

**A***VITUS*, surnam'd the false *Antoninus*, the *Assyrian*, *Sardanapalus*, and at last *Tiberinus* after his Body was thrown into the *Tyber*, did a very handsom Action as soon as he  
 A a had

had establish'd his Authority, and came to *Rome*, when he forgot the injurious terms that *Macrinus* had us'd in his Letters against him, and laid aside all thoughts of Revenge. For the rest, during his Reign of three Years, nine Months and four Days, he was plung'd in Voluptuousness, Unjust, Violent, and Cruel.

*Eutichian* who for his Buffoonries was call'd the *Comedian*, was made of a sudden Captain of the Guards, though he had never been in any other Post except that of a *Presect* of the Camp. He was afterwards Consul three years together, which Honour was never enjoy'd by any other, and ought to be put among the Irregularities of that Age. The Heads and Chief Men of the Empire who could not approve of such an infraction of the Laws weré put to Death, some under frivolous pretences, and others without the least colour of reason.

*Valerianus Petus* was executed for having contriv'd little Images of Gold, which were worn as Ornaments by the Ladies of Pleasure. *Silius Messala*, and *Pomponius Bassus* were accus'd of condemning

demning in their Hearts the Conduct of *Avitus*. In a Letter he wrote to the Senate he call'd them the Examiners of his Actions, and the Observers of all that pass'd in his Palace. *Bassus* was yet guilty of another Crime, which was, that he had a very handsome Wife, of Noble Birth, being the Gran-daughter of *Claudius Severus*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. *Avitus* Married her afterwards without giving her time to mourn for her Husband. I shall speak anon of his Marriages, his Wives, his Husbands, and the monstrous Debaucheries with which he dishonour'd both Sexes. Is it necessary to mention the names of all those whom he put to Death without the least reason, since he did not spare his best Friends, whose wife and wholesome Remonstrances he could not bear? One of the blackest of his Crimes was the Worship of *Heliogabalus*, which he introduc'd into *Rome*, though 'twas a foreign God, whom he rever'd more religiously than any other, so far as to set him above *Jupiter*, and to get himself declar'd his Priest by Decree of the Senate. He was so extravagant as to be Circumcis'd, and abstain'd from eat-

ing Hogs-flesh. He appear'd often in publick with a Habit resembling that of the Priests of *Syria*, and was there-upon furnam'd the *Affyrian*. He married *Cornelia Paula*, that he might be the sooner a Father, as he said, though he was not yet a Man. At the celebration of his Nuptials he made Presents not only to the Senate, and the Order of Knights, but also to the Senators Wives. The People were treated at five hundred and fifty *Drachma's per Head*, and the Soldiers at two hundred and fifty. There were afterwards Combats of *Gladiators*, at which he was present in a purple Robe, as he was at the publick Prayers. A great number of Beasts were kill'd, among the rest an Elephant, and one and fifty Tygers, which was never known before. *Avitus* soon after was divorc'd from *Paula*, under pretence that she had some blemish upon her Body, and by the most notorious and scandalous infraction of the most sacred Laws, he married *Aquilia Severa* the *Vestal*. Instead of blushing at the Sacrilege, for which he deserv'd to have been scourg'd in the publick place, to have been imprison'd,



prison'd, and condemn'd to suffer Death, he carried his Insolence to that height, as to boast that the Children which should proceed from a Marriage contracted between the Chief Priest and the Chief *Vestal*, would have something Sacred and Divine about them. And yet he did not keep her long, but took another soon, and then another, and at last resum'd *Severa*. About this time some extraordinary Prodigies were observ'd in *Rome*. The most surprising was that which happen'd to the Statue of *Isis*, whose Altar is supported by a Dog, for the face of the God was turn'd quite round. *Sardanapalus* gave to the People the Diversion of several Shows and Combats, in which *Aurelius Elix* signaliz'd himself beyond all his Antagonists. He made a general challenge in *Pisa* to Wrestle, or fight at Cuffs, and in *Rome* at the *Capitolin Games* got the Victory in both those Exercises. The Judges of *Elis* burning with extream jealousy, and being afraid lest he should be accounted the eighth after *Hercules*, call'd for no Combatant in that sort of Exercise, though they had mention'd it in their publick Advertisements. A a 3

I shall pass in silence the barbarous Songs that *Sardanapalus* sung with his Mother and Grandmother in Honour of *Heliogabalus*. Nor shall I insist upon his cruelty in sacrificing Children to him, or the impiety of Art Magick, to which he was addicted. Neither is it necessary to say that he order'd a Lion, an Ape, and a Serpent all living, to be shut up in his Temple, the Privy Parts of a Man to be hung within it, affecting a thousand extravagant things of that nature. But if I omit all these things, I cannot avoid speaking of his whimsical fancy in giving a Wife to *Heliogabalus*, as if the God had wanted a Wife and Children. As it was not likely that the Wife he should provide for him, would be of any mean Birth or Fortune, he chose the *Urania* of the *Carthaginians*, had her brought from *Carthage* to *Rome*, lodg'd her in the Palace, made all the Subjects of the Empire contribute towards the celebration of the Nuptials, as if it had been for an Empress. These Presents were given voluntarily at this time, but they were exacted afterwards. As for the Portion, *Sardanapalus* would have none,  
and

and only accepted of two Golden Lions. And yet this Emperor who was so careful to match Gods and Goddesses according to the Laws, did not keep himself within the bounds of lawful Pleasures, but had several Wives. Not that he took them from any occasion he had for them, but through a desire of imitating the abandon'd courses of his Lovers. There is no body that can have the patience to make or hear the recital of the abominable lewdness he acted, or suffer'd in his own Body. There were other debauches to which he abandon'd himself so publicly, that one cannot in any manner conceal them. He us'd to go into a Tavern at Night, put on false Hair, and perform the Office of a Drawer. He went to Bawdy-houses, drove out the lewd Women, and plung'd himself in the most infamous Pleasures. In a word, he dedicated to Incontinence an Apartment of his Palace, at the Door of which he stood stark naked, after the fashion of *Courtezans*, behind a Curtain that hung by Rings of Gold, calling those that pass'd by in a soft, effeminate tone. There were other Persons destin'd to the same

Employment, whom he made use of to seek out for People whose immodesty might give him Pleasure. He receiv'd Money of the Accomplices of his Debauches, and took a pride in so infamous a trade. When he was with his Companions in prostitution, he brag'd of having a greater number of Lovers than they, and of getting more Money. He exacted it indifferently from all those to whom he consented. There was one among the rest of a very advantageous form, whom he design'd for that reason to create *Cæsar*. He drove Chariots in a green Habit, and us'd that Exercise frequently in his Palace. He had for the Judges of his Combats the principal Men of the Empire, the Captains of the Guard, his Grandmother, his Mother, the Ladies of Quality, the most considerable Senators, and especially *Leon* Governor of *Rome*. All these Persons saw him driving a Chariot, then he ask'd them for Money as a reward for his Skill, like an ordinary Jocky, and in a word, he condescended to caress the Soldiers. He was not satisfied with driving Chariots only. He affected dancing not only upon the  
Stage,



Stage, but as he walk'd, sacrific'd, saluted, or when he was making Speeches to those who came to attend him. In short, to resume the subject of his Marriages, he married himself in the quality of a Wife, and by his own command was call'd Madam, and Empress. He us'd to card Wool, and rub'd his Eyes with Pomatum. He shav'd his Chin, and made a solemn Feast for it, took care there should not be one Hair seen, that he might the more resemble a Woman, and receiv'd upon a Couch the Senators that came to attend him. His Husband was a Slave, a Native of *Caria*, whose name was *Jerocles*, a Driver of Chariots, of whom he became enamour'd from an occasion that proceeded from the exercise of that Profession. For this *Jerocles* falling one day from his Chariot at the feet of *Sardanapalus*, and his Helmet flying by the violence of his fall, the Emperor saw that he had no Beard, and that he was very fair. He gave orders to have him taken up, and carried into his own Apartment, with a design to make him his Bed-fellow, and rais'd him in a little time to that pitch of Greatness, that

it



it was not doubted but he had a more absolute Power than himself. His Mother who was but a Serving-woman was brought to *Rome* attended with Guards, and put in the rank of those Ladies, whose Husbands had been Consuls. Several others obtain'd Honours or Riches of him, either for exciting some disturbance in the State, or for doing an Action with him that is shocking to Nature. He took a pride in so brutal a prostitution, made it his boast like the most shameless Strumpet, and was glad to be surpriz'd in the very Act. He affected to be ill-us'd by his Husband, to receive Affronts from him, and to be beaten by him with that Violence, that the marks of his Blows would sometimes appear in his Face. He did not love him with a feeble, transient Warmth, but with a strong and constant Passion; so that in stead of being displeas'd with the ill usage he receiv'd from him, he lov'd him the more tenderly for it. He intended to give him the most convincing proof of his Affection that he could ere have desir'd, which was to declare him *Cæsar*, and he us'd Menaces upon this occasion to his Grandmother, who  
disswa-

disswaded him from it, and incurr'd the hatred of the Soldiers. We shall see presently how fatal the extravagance and brutality of this passion were to him.

*Aurelius Zoticus*, a Native of *Smyrna*, surnam'd the *Cook*, because 'twas his Fathers Trade, had been passionately belov'd, and afterwards as much hated by the false *Antoninus*, which sav'd his Life. He surpass'd the other Wrestlers in the handsomness of his Person, strength of Body, and largeness of that Part which is us'd for Generation. These Advantages having been discover'd by those who were employ'd by the Emperor to make a strict inquiry for such whom Nature had more liberally provided for than others, he was carried off in the midst of the Games, and conducted to *Rome* with a Pomp at least as Magnificent, as that which was formerly prepar'd for *Augares* in the Reign of *Severus*, or for *Tiridates* in that of *Nero*. He was declar'd Chamberlain before he was seen by the Emperor, and introduc'd into the Palace through an infinite number of Lights, with which it was adorn'd. As soon as this infamous Prince perceiv'd him, he ran to him  
with

with a seeming Bashfulness, and when *Zoticus* call'd him Lord and Emperor according to Custom, he answer'd turning his Head with a soft Air like a Woman, and casting lascivious Looks upon him, ' You must not call me Lord, ' because I am a Lady. He carried him to the Bath that instant, and having found him the mighty Man he had been represented to him, he suppd in his Arms like a Mistress. *Jerocles* being apprehensive that *Zoticus* would come to have a more absolute Power over the Emperor's Mind than himself, and that afterwards he might do him ill Offices out of Jealousie, as 'tis customary with Rivals, had the dexterity to make him drink a Liquor that he receiv'd from a Cup-bearer that was his Friend, which Drink so weakned his Nerves, that they had no motion all Night, by whose defect he fell into Disgrace, was depriv'd of all the Gifts he had receiv'd, banish'd the Palace, *Rome* and *Italy*. This disgrace sav'd his Life as I have already observ'd. *Sardanapalus* soon after receiv'd the punishment that his Crimes deserv'd, and was assassinated by the Soldiers, to whom, not-with-

withstanding all the Caresses he made them, his infamous Courses, and monstrous Prostitutions had rendred him quite insupportable, as well as to the rest of his Subjects. Now observe in what manner he was taken out of the World.

He took *Bassianus* his Cousin into the Senate, and adopted him, *Maisa* and *Socemis* standing on each side of him. He began afterwards to boast of the happiness of having a Son older than himself, and to give out, that he had no need of other Children to establish his Family, and that *Heliogabalus* had commanded him to adopt him, and to name him *Alexander*. As for myself, I doubt not but this Adoption was made by a secret order from Heaven, and that which gives me a perswasion of the truth of it, is not what the false *Antoninus* declar'd upon this occasion out of Vain-glory, but the Prediction he had receiv'd, that *Alexander* of *Emesus* should be his Successor, and besides an extraordinary accident that happen'd in the upper *Mæsia*, and in *Thrace*. I shall relate it in few words.



A Spectre that took the Name, Face, and Equipage of *Alexander* of *Macedon*, appear'd I know not how about the *Danube*, travelling through *Asia* and *Thrace* with a Retinue of four hundred Men that carried branches of Trees in their Hands, and did no hurt to any body. The People of *Thrace* consented to furnish him with Lodgings and Provisions, and gave orders that no *Pretor*, Soldier, or Governor, should dare to oppose his Passage. He march'd all the day without resting in a Triumphant manner, went from thence to the Country of *Chalcedon*, where having instituted a Priest in the Night, and put a wooden Horse in the Earth he disappear'd. I heard all this in *Asia*, before I knew any thing of what had happen'd at *Rome* with relation to *Bassianus*. *Sardanapalus* maintain'd himself in the Sovereign Power, as long as he preserv'd any Sentiments of Friendship for *Alexander* his Cousin. But he did not retain them long, and sought means to get rid of him when he began to suspect him, and saw that he gain'd the love of all the World. Nevertheless how earnest soever his desire was to hurt  
*Alexan-*



*Alexander*, he had no opportunity of doing it, because his Mother, his Grandmother, and the Soldiers were continually watchful for his Safety. As soon as the Guards had discover'd the design of *Sardanapalus*, they rais'd a Sedition which was not appeas'd without much difficulty. *Sardanapalus* and *Alexander* being both in the Camp, the first made profound submissions to the Soldiers, who demanded to have the Companions of his Debauches given up to them, that they might be chastis'd as they deserv'd. He beg'd them to spare *Jerocles*, with all the clamour and importunity of the deepest Sorrow. ' Let him be what he will, said he to them, ' blubbering as he spoke, I conjure you ' to save his Life, and if you are inflexible, rather to kill me in his room. He made them bend at last to his intreaties, and escap'd their anger this time. His Grandmother hated him for his Excesses, and the defect of his Birth, whereas she lov'd *Alexander* as being indeed sprung from the Family of *Antoninus*. *Sardanapalus* laid another Snare for *Alexander* soon after, and thereby gave occasion for another Mutiny in the

the Army. As those two Princes were together in the Camp, and the two Princesses their Mothers were contesting with great heat, and endeavouring to exasperate the Soldiers, *Sardanapalus* perceiv'd they had an eye upon him, and were preparing to seize him with a design to put him to Death. He attempted that Moment to escape, and was very near effecting it by hiding himself in a Chest. But he was discover'd, and kill'd at the age of eighteen years. His Mother who held him in her Arms was kill'd with him. Their Heads were cut off, and their Bodies strip'd, and drag'd through the City. Then that of *Sardanapalus* was thrown into the *Tyber*, and that of his Mother into another place. Several others were executed with them, as *Ferocles*, the Captains of the Guard, and *Aurelius Eubulus*. This last was a Native of *Emesus*, kept the publick Registers, and had ruin'd a world of private Men in that Office, for which he was pull'd to pieces by the Soldiers. *Fulvius* Governor of *Rome* was likewise kill'd. *Eutichian* furnam'd the *Comedian*, succeeded him in the same manner as he had before  
suc-

succeed him, who was Predecessor to *Fulvius*, for he was a Man that was made use of to supply the Post of Governor of *Rome*, as he was to act such Parts as were wanting upon the Stage. *Heliogabalus* was at the same time driven out of *Rome*. Such was the end of *Tiberinus*. All those who had any share in his Favours and Excesses, were involv'd in his Ruine, except one alone.

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2024 ME

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The Beginning of the

R E I G N

O F T H E

E M P E R O R

*Alexander Severus.*

**A**S soon as *Tiberinus* was dispatch'd in the manner I have related, *Alexander* took possession of the Empire, and left the Administration of it to *Domitius Ulpianus* Captain of the Guards. For what remains, I must acquaint those who shall take the pains to read this Work, that I have not been able to observe the same exactness in the latter part as in the former, because I was almost always absent from *Rome* in these latter years. In going from the



lesser *Asia* to *Bithynia*, I fell into a troublesom fit of Sickness. When I was recover'd I made a Voyage to *Egypt*, the Government whereof was given me. Upon my return into *Italy*, I was sent away into *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*. From thence I return'd to *Rome*, then into *Campania*, and at length to my own House. These frequent changes of Abode having hindred me from informing my self of the particulars of Affairs with that exactness I could wish, I shall relate in few words what pass'd to my second Consulship. *Ulpianus* reform'd a world of Abuses that had been introduc'd in the former Reign. But he got *Flavian* and *Cherestes* put to death in order to have their Employments, and was soon after kill'd himself in the Night by a conspiracy of the Guards, though he had fled to the Palace for Refuge, and implor'd the protection of the Emperor and his Mother. Before this bloody Execution there arose upon a very slight occasion, so furious a difference between the People and the Guards, that they fought for three days successively, and several of each side were kill'd upon the place. The Soldiers

ers having the disadvantage set fire to the Houses, and the People, fearing the whole City would be consum'd, made peace with them.

*Epagatus* who had been the cause of the death of *Ulpianus*, was sent to *Egypt* in the Quality of Governor, lest if he had been arraign'd for it in *Rome*, and condemn'd to die, the execution might have rais'd some Disturbance. But he was carried a little after to *Crete*, try'd, and executed.

There were at the same time several Insurrections, some of which were dreaded for their Consequences, and soon after ceas'd. The disorders in *Mesopotamia* were more terrible, and not only affected *Rome*, but all the Provinces. *Artaxerxes* the *Persian* having defeated the *Parthians* in three Battels, and kill'd *Artabanus* their King, entred into *Armenia*, from whence he was driven by the Inhabitants of the Country, by the *Medes*, and by the Sons of *Artabanus*, unless we are willing to give credit to what some assure, which is that he retir'd of his own accord with a design to make new Levies, and to provide Magazines. In short, he was grown for-

formidable by the number of his Troops which were dispers'd in *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, and by his threatnings to possess himself of all the Country that extended to the Sea of *Greece*, and formerly belong'd to the *Persian* Power. 'Twas not that he was so very considerable, nor that he appear'd invincible; but he alarm'd us the more, becaule our Soldiers were in so bad a disposition, that several deserted to him, and the rest that remain'd in our Camp refus'd to serve. Those who were in *Mesopotamia* were under so loose a Discipline, and liv'd in such a contempt of Punishment, that they kill'd *Flavius Heracleon* their Commander. The Companies of Guards had the insolence to make complaints against me, as they had done before against *Ulpianus*, and to accuse me of having establish'd too strict a Discipline among the Troops of *Pannonia*, which made them apprehensive of being oblig'd to the same severity. *Alexander* was so far from listening to what they said, that he did me the honour to design me Consul a second time, to choose me for his Colleague, and to be himself at the charge this High Office oblig'd me to. When I  
saw

saw that his choice was unacceptable to the Guards, I was afraid lest they should rise to that excess of Insolence, as to kill me at the time I wore the marks of so eminent a Dignity, and the Emperor commanded me to pass that year in *Italy*. When it was expir'd, I return'd to *Rome*, and went into *Campania* where *Alexander* was, appear'd without any distrust amidst the Soldiers, and at last by reason of an indisposition in my Feet, obtain'd leave to return into my own Country for the remainder of my Life, as my Guardian Spirit had foretold me would happen, when he commanded me to put at the end of my History these Verses of *Homer*,

*Hector unshaken in the Battel stood,  
In vain his Foes the fierce Attack renew'd,  
For Jove himself was there his Guardian-  
(God.*

**F I N I S.**



the first of the year 1861, I was  
appointed to the position of  
Chief Clerk of the Court, and  
in that capacity I have since  
been engaged in the discharge  
of the duties of my office.  
I have the honor to acknowledge  
the receipt of your letter of the  
10th inst., and in reply to inform  
you that the same has been  
forwarded to the proper  
authorities for their consideration.  
I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. H. [Signature]

It is with pleasure that I have  
learned that the same has been  
forwarded to the proper  
authorities for their consideration.  
I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. H. [Signature]

F I M 12





